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Published

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

No. 255.—VOL. V.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1845.

PRICE 6d.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

HOLIDAY EXCURSIONS.

No. XV.

THE TENDENCIES OF THE AGE.

The gods many and the lords many of the feudal dispensation are fast running out the cycle of their reign. Veneration for aristocracy has received, of late, many rude shocks; and, if the signs of the times do not deceive us, will scarcely outlive the trial it is destined, during the next twelve months, to undergo. Patrician thunder scares the lower world no longer. The steam-engine has played havoc with men's imaginations, and the clouds in which fancy once enwrapped the mitre and the coronet, have rolled away before the light of science. A silent revolution, now verging close upon its maturity, has altered the relative positions of nobles and people. Knowledge, and the unweared application of it in every department of social life, have raised the latter to an elevation from which they can look down upon the Olympus of the political world, and witness all the tricks by which work-a-day human nature was wont to be kept in awe. The poetry of feudalism is extinct; and with its poetry—its ascendancy over the imagination—the power of its spell is broken. What is it? men ask—what miracles can it work, that we should believe and obey it? Can it give fertility to the soil? strength to the steam-engine? swiftness to the locomotive? Show us some of its marvels, that we may compare them with our own! Wherein may we see embodied its superior wisdom, goodness, and truth? By what tokens are we to estimate our own inferiority, that we should be constrained to do it homage?

"Brutus and Caesar: What should be in that Cæsar? Why should that name be sounded more than yours? Write them together, yours is as fair a name; Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well; Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with them, Brutus will start a spirit as soon as Cæsar."

Now, we take it, that no elaboration of argument is needed, to prove that state establishments of religion are nothing more nor less than the patrician type of Christian institutions—the gospel done into the feudal character—the shape into which the truth of God settles when melted down in the crucible of civil government, with the devices of hereditary wisdom. A state-church is by, with, and for, the privileged class. It is the external and tangible form of their notion of what religion comes into the world to do. It is Christianity pressed into their service, and sent on their errands. Aristocracy is the soul of the state-church system—gives to it its meaning, semblance, and power. The one cannot die without leaving the other a putrefying carcass. The latter may, perchance, be galvanised into motion resembling life, when the former is no more—but even this must be before it congeals into rigidity, and will avail to no ultimate purpose, unless it be to prove that the vital spark is extinct. The relation of the two is as that of spirit and matter. The last decays wherever the first is absent.

If this be true, and few reflecting observers will dispute it, the earnest friends of voluntaryism may surely lift up their heads with joy. The tendencies of the age are with them. All the elements of social progress are at work on their behalf. The *prestige* of rank cannot long bar out the advancing tide of knowledge. All the discoveries of the age, mechanical and moral, are leveling the mountains and filling in the valleys for the chariot-wheels of political equality. The rising dust in

the distance gives notice of its approach; and, if its form may not as yet be deserved, it is yet known by all to be not far off. Its advent is decreed—all things lend it a helping hand. Willing and unwilling agents—friends and foes—the rejoicing and the terrified—all are engaged in clearing its path of obstruction. One may almost hear its shout of anticipated victory. See! Aristocracy is gathering itself up for its last encounter. In vain! It cannot live. Nature and Providence have doomed it. The men who *do* are about to charge upon the men who only *say*. Steam engines, spinning jennies, power looms, railways, are pitted against empty titles and arrogant assumptions. "Out of the way!" shouts the power which rides upon the harnessed laws of the material universe. "Stand and deliver!" vociferates in return the phantom which nothing but our own fears can make strong. 'Tis an unequal contest, and can terminate in but one way. Hark! to the scream of the whistle! It comes—nearer—nearer—whizz! it takes the breath out of you as it rushes by, as if its own might absorbed in passing all other might. What crash was that? Lo! here are the shivered fragments of aristocracy to tell the tale of its sudden ruin.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We have described the fall of class power, as it will probably appear to our posterity, to whom past years will be as days. It is not our purpose to intimate that all these things must needs be in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-six. What we mean to impress upon the minds of our readers, is the natural and fore-ordained tendency of things. The process has commenced. It may be more or less rapid, according to the mode in which we estimate rapidity. But its course and termination are sure. The laws of gravitation are not more certain than are the laws of mind. Knowledge cannot long submit to be ruled by ignorance—and nominal and conventional power must give place to real. We are already on the eve of a tremendous struggle—and the issue of it, however brought about, will leave aristocracy worsted and weakened.

This, then, surely, is not the time for the friends of free Christianity to fold their arms in despondency. In themselves they may be but a small band—feeble, moreover, and oftentimes faint—but there is a might co-operating with them, before which the haughtiest of earthly pretences will be compelled to bow. Let them diffuse the knowledge, and Providence will supply the power! 'Tis now the one only *desideratum*—enlightened public opinion. Their business is to teach, nothing more. Patient and persevering instruction will do the work. The proud walls of the fortress fenced up to heaven—why, just compass them, and blow loud the rams' horns, and they will fall into ruins! To work, then! To the work of peaceful agitation with earnest hearts! All things are for us, if we are only true to truth. We are borne onward to our high purpose by all the tendencies of the age.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

PUBLIC MEETING AT NOTTINGHAM.

(Abridged from the *Notts Review*.)

A public meeting of the friends of this association, convened by public advertisement and intimations from the pulpits of the different Dissenting congregations of the town and neighbourhood, was held in the Exchange Hall, Nottingham, on Tuesday evening last. The attendance was most gratifying, the hall being very well filled by a most respectable audience, the majority of the fairer sex. We noticed among the assemblage:—The Mayor, the Rev. J. Edwfrds, the Rev. S. Green, the Rev. J. Gilbert, the Rev. S. Jones, the Rev. J. Ferneyhough, the Rev. W. Mills, the Rev. John Burnet, of Camberwell, the Rev. J. P. Mursell, of Leicester, D'Arcy Irvine, Esq., and Messrs J. Dunn, W. Felkin, W. Cripps, J. Hill, A. Wells, M. Browne, and numerous other gentlemen.

At seven o'clock, the Rev. J. Gilbert was moved to the chair, and opened the business of the meeting. He said, they were assembled to receive the statements of a deputation from the society in London, and would be enabled to subsequently form an opinion whether the society was one worthy of support or not. He thought the term "Anti-state-church" a misnomer; there could not in truth be such a thing as a state church, and therefore the title was incongruous. From the year 1662 to the present day, there had been many treatises written to prove that the church could exist in connexion

with the state, and he had read many of them, but never yet met with an argument, worthy of the name, to prove that there could be such a thing as a state church. He would not, however, enter into any elaborate argument; that duty he would leave to the deputation. He begged to introduce his esteemed friend, Mr Mursell [applause].

The Rev. J. P. MURSELL, of Leicester, one of the deputation from the parent society, on rising, expressed his surprise at the extremely incorrect opinions and false impressions which had been entertained as to the objects of the Anti-state-church Society, and remarked that it appeared to him that some persons seemed to argue as though it was a rash and undigested scheme, and a wild crusade against the established order of things, and to look upon the projectors as abettors of anarchy and strife. These incorrect notions were not to be attributed to a want of a correct description in the announcement of the committee in their authentic documents, which they had put before the public to make known the design of their intention; but the confusion of ideas must have arisen from persons rather satisfied with rumour than from individual investigation of the subject for themselves, and from not having taken the trouble to read for themselves. The Chairman had rightly observed that the Anti-state-church Society was not opposed to a church, or any form of church government, whatever it might be, whether Episcopacy, Presbyterian, Independent, or any other form of ecclesiastical church government; and he would repeat, that their only object in coming before the public was to seek the separation of the church from the state, so that by law one portion of the community shall not enjoy privileges over the heads of all others [hear, hear]. This was their simple object, and nothing more, and, he would add, they would receive nothing less. He considered the church establishment of these realms as a great political evil, and particularly detrimental to the progress of civil and religious liberty, and he regarded it as directly opposed to the spirit of our exalted Redeemer. On that ground he ventured to appear on the platform in support of one of the noblest, though not the most popular, institutions of the day. The union of any system of religion with the state must have for its object one or other of two ends; either the production of uniformity in belief, or the promotion of profession, co-existent, and co-existing, with every possible diversity of creed. He thought the meeting could not find any other object that could possibly propose itself to be accomplished than one of the two which he had stated. Now the attempt to produce a uniformity of profession, altogether in keeping or in uniformity with every diversity of opinion and belief, would be only an attempt to produce wide-spread hypocrisy and fraud; it would be offering a premium for dissimulation and lying. It could not, therefore, be supposed that any part of the Christian community could so act; nor did the Anti-state-church Society pretend to charge any one connected with the government of the established church with being guilty of any such thing as that. Then their object must be to produce uniformity of belief by producing oneness of opinion, which he would show was utterly impossible; and, if it were possible, the attempt to produce it would be attended with great and mischievous evils. The human mind, by its very constitution, is lofty and entirely independent. There is not a sense in which it could be controlled and dictated to at all; it lives and moves in its own sphere, and cannot be moved therefrom by any power, whatever it may be. The opinions, the thoughts that it entertains are its own, and it cannot be regulated and compelled in the formation of its opinion by any external authority or power whatever. In the very order of its structure and constitution, no authority or external power can dictate the opinion it shall form. In short the mind cannot form its opinion under the agency of any authority, be it ever so high or powerful. Its opinions may have relation to the most trifling or the most high or noble matters; still, whatever they may be, its own opinion prevails, which no external authority can affect. The whole powers of the universe combined cannot induce it to form thoughts contrary to what it entertains, no more than acts of parliament can make an eclipse or prove the multiplication table to be incorrect. Who, in Nottingham, would construct a machine or piece of mechanism, and, after finishing it, expect it would do its work without any further agency; yet just as well might they expect to set in motion and to give impetus and energy to a material machine, without material agency, as to think of moving an immaterial machine, by the exercise of a material power. This can be done in no case whatever, and the attempt would fail as did the effort of the man who wished to find the philosopher's stone. Any man wishing to discover how external agency may be brought to bear upon the human mind, was attempting something like the solution of a problem as to "how far it is from the 1st of May to London bridge?" All efforts to fetter the

ORIGINAL
DEFECTIVE

mind have hitherto failed, although the combined force of kings and empires have been brought to bear upon it by the aid of manacles, fetters, and imprisonment? What was Bunyan, although imprisoned for twelve years? What did sending him to jail do? It made him bring out that great work which had raised him to the pinnacle of immortality, higher than the Commons of this country, who may place a statue to his memory in the house of parliament, ever can raise him. And, when any man may attempt to dictate to us what our thoughts should be on the subject of religion, we naturally should say to him, in the language of scripture, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou savourest of the things that be not of God, but of men;" and, though they were to commit us to prison, or to send us to exile, no limit could be put to the free ratiocination of the human mind. But not only is the human mind independent in itself, but it is so constituted as to be unable to resist evidence when placed before it, and he would remark, that evidence is the only proper mode of guiding the motions of that beautiful and wonderful internal structure. It was upon the principle of evidence affecting the human mind, that the Anti-state-church Society appealed to the public on the present occasion in aid of the cause of truth. He did not say, because the founders of the Society had met in London, the people in the country should take for granted that a movement was necessary, but having met there, they would lay before the British community the facts in evidence, and if they would not receive them, at least the committee would have done their duty. The inquiry, however, should take place. The reasons should be given why the Anti-state-church Society think this right and that wrong; and, upon the evidence adduced, the public might decide and return their verdict. That is the principle on which the Anti-state-church Society will proceed, and it is because there is, on the part of the Establishment, an attempt to coerce opinion, and to set aside evidence—which in philosophy, as well as in fact, is the only means of guiding human thought—which has induced the present movement. In prosecuting this work, the Society expects a great deal of opposition, not only from the friends of the Established church, but from many of their Dissenting brethren. The gentlemen of the Establishment, many of them in high places, may think their craft is in danger; and others in the Established church may oppose them from conscientious motives, and suppose, that if the Anti-state-church Society succeeded, it might injure the great cause of religion, and the interests of this great community; and, instead of promoting Christianity, it would rather impede its extension. He would give all respectful attention to any arguments that might be urged by any members of the Establishment of these realms, in opposition to the course about to be pursued by the Anti-state-church Society; but it would also well become the friends of the Establishment to listen calmly, candidly, and fairly to the arguments advanced against the continuance of a state church. Many persons had characterised the course adopted, as fraught with Utopian schemes, and the effort to overthrow the strongest and most powerful hierarchy ever formed in any country, as most useless and vain; but this was a kind of argument which was of trifling weight, as it was known that very little men sometimes do great things. If their Dissenting friends objected, as they expected would be the case in many quarters, still, the society would take encouragement from the knowledge of their cause being that of truth. Many think that the Anti-state-church Society will, by the movement, only expose their own weakness, and that they had better not move at all than do so; and further, that the church friends may have a tolerable good opinion of them now, but in case of the failure of the object now sought, the society will be laughed to scorn. Though it might be said that they were about to put weakness against strength, and though they might be charged with placing their chairman by the side of great men like the Archbishop of Canterbury, and such humble individuals as the speaker and his colleagues in juxtaposition with the dignitaries of the church, who enjoy rich livings, and thereby make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of some men, yet their strength is in their principles; and though they should have tempted as many Dissenters against them as there may be in the country, numerous as they are, and the Church of England was spread over every continent in the world, yet the members of the Anti-state-church Society would feel it their duty to go forth, to make known their principles, and to stand or fall by the result [applause]. It had been said the time was not proper—it was not prudent to move now, and a period more favourable should be selected, when things were more settled; but those gentlemen who say so should keep time themselves, are they expect the society to bow to them. Ask them when it would be the right time? and it would be found that they would wait till the millennium or doom's day. In fact, they kept no time at all, or if any, it was very bad time. But for what signs of the times would they wait? What are the instructions that have been given? Can the men of Nottingham have forgotten the Maynooth bill, and the efforts made in the last session of parliament, in aid of Popery [hear]? If on no other ground, he should advocate the present movement as a matter of policy, to prevent further support being given to Popery [cheers]. Surely the audience could not have forgotten what had passed north of the Tweed, and the signs of the times in Europe, where the ground seems to be fast breaking up for the direct overthrow of Popery [applause]. With all these, and other important events before their eyes, an appeal was now made to the religious public; and whether responded to at present generally or not, the society will go on, fully

confident that the day will come, when many will heartily join in crying "Victory, victory" [cheers].

The Rev. J. BURNET, of Camberwell, then addressed the meeting at some length. [As we have given a tolerably full report of his speech at Derby, on the succeeding evening, it is unnecessary to give, what must, to a certain extent, be a repetition of it here.] He concluded by urging upon all conscientious persons to register themselves as members of the Anti-state-church Association, the object of which was to raise three thousand pounds, to disseminate information by tracts and other publications, and to obtain the return of such men to parliament as would vote for the separation of the church from the state. The lowest payment of a member to be one shilling a year, and any sum beyond at discretion.

Mr D'ARCY IRVINE (one of the deputation) directed attention to the publications of the Society, as one great means of promoting its objects. Another means was the enrolment of members into the ranks of the Association, and for this object registrars should be appointed to the different Dissenting congregations—one in each—whose duty it would be to record the names of members to be laid before the committee, each member to subscribe two shillings or more yearly. There would also be lectures and public meetings in the town, as occasions presented themselves. The tracts were written by men of ability; for instance, Dr Young, of Perth, Mr Newman (brother of the well-known Puseyite), the Rev. M. Bridges (a Churchman), and other talented individuals, and one was published each month, at the price of two-pence. Mr Dunn was the depositary for Nottingham.

The Rev. J. FERNBYHOUGH then submitted the following resolution:—

That this meeting, being convinced that the appropriation by the state of the national funds, for the support of any ecclesiastical sect or party, is alike opposed to the spirit of Christianity, to the principles of social justice, and to the true interests of the people, would pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to return to the House of Commons such representatives only, as shall be willing to vote against all grants out of the public funds for the endowment of religion.

The Rev. S. JONES seconded the motion.

A discussion arose on the extent of the pledge contained in the resolution, Mr Alderman Heard, Mr J. Hill, and Mr Cripps at first thinking that it bound those who voted for it, to support *none* but such as were for free trade in religion, to the utter exclusion of the candidate who might be only favourable to free trade in corn. Mr Edwards and Mr Burnet's explanation, however, placed the matter in a proper light, and on being put, four were found to oppose it, and the rest of the meeting to approve of it [warm applause].

After votes of thanks to the deputation and the chairman, the meeting, which was of a brief character throughout, separated about ten o'clock.

The publications of the association were sold, subsequently, to such as chose to purchase. The friends of religious freedom could not perform a nobler act than to promote their circulation as much as possible: better publications of the kind could not be issued.

PUBLIC MEETING AT DERBY.

(From the *Derby Reporter*.)

A public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, Derby, on Wednesday evening last, "to explain the principles and object, and to advocate the claims, of the Anti-state-church Association." The Rev. John Burnet (of London), the Rev. J. P. Mursell (of Leicester), and D'Arcy Irvine, Esq., attended as a deputation. There was a very numerous attendance of the middle and working classes, and the whole proceedings appeared to afford considerable satisfaction.

On the motion of Mr STEVENSON, seconded by Mr PEAG, the Rev. J. Gawthorn was unanimously called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in commencing the business of the meeting, spoke as follows: Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, and fellow Christians—I feel great pleasure in meeting you on such an interesting occasion as the present. I think it is very desirable that it should be distinctly understood what is the object, and what the mode of proceeding, adopted by the British Anti-state-church Association. Possibly there may be some members of the Established Church present on this occasion. We wish much to respect both their judgment and their feelings; while at the same time we claim full liberty of thought, and suitable expression of thought, upon every occasion. Probably the members of the Establishment are not in the habit of making that distinction which we think it is proper should be made upon all occasions; that is to say, we make a perfect distinction between a Christian church and an establishment. To constitute a Christian church, we do not interfere with the religious faith, the mode of worship, or with the church government, which others may think proper to prefer or adopt; but, on the other hand, by an establishment we understand a political incorporation—for that is strictly the character of what is denominated an established church. Why is one sect of Christians the Established Church in this kingdom rather than another? For this plain—for this sole reason, that one, and but one, is thus politically incorporated. But for such a political incorporation by the two acts of parliament called the "Act of Supremacy" and the "Act of Uniformity," the Episcopal sect would be no more the Established Church of this kingdom than the Baptists, the Independents, or any other religious community whatever [hear, hear]. These two acts of parliament may be repealed; the time may be coming when they will be repealed; and from that very moment

the Episcopal would cease to be the Established Church. It was formed—it was founded by act of parliament; it lives entirely by act of parliament; and the moment parliament should see fit to repeal these two statutes, from that moment it would cease to be the Establishment; that is to say, it would cease to be a political incorporation. If the Episcopal sect were not thus established, all their religious articles of faith might remain precisely as they are. There is an Episcopal sect in Scotland: it is not the established church there. There is an Episcopal sect in America: it is not the established church there. An Episcopacy and an Establishment are two perfectly distinct and separate things [hear, hear]. We have not the least desire in the world to interfere with the religious faith of those who now constitute the members of the Established Church. If the Establishment were abolished to-morrow, its thirty-nine articles—and thirty-nine more, if they please [a laugh]—might remain just as would suit their own judgment and convenience. If it ceased to be an Establishment to-morrow, they might still have exactly the same religious principles, the same archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and a long list of other officers, if they choose to have these, and to support them. We do not for a moment wish to interfere with their judgment and preference. And the same with respect to their modes of worship. The sole object of the Anti-state-church Association is to reduce the Christian church to the plain, simple state in which the Lord Jesus Christ left it. Beyond that, we have not a single desire of any kind whatever; and we never think of employing any means to secure that end but such as are pure and Christian, perfectly lawful, and every way peaceful. Anything like force is completely out of the question [cheers].

Mr MURSELL was then called upon to address the meeting, which he did at considerable length, and in an eloquent and effective manner, urging upon his hearers the great importance of the voluntary principle, and its vast influence in all the ramifications of society; and calling upon every one who took an interest in promoting the cause of the British Anti-state-church Association, boldly and manfully to proclaim its principles on all occasions, "whether in high places or in low places—in the presence of kings, or of their subjects."

Mr BURNET was the next speaker. He said, that although so much attached to the voluntary principle, he did not wish to infringe upon the time of his hearers to any great extent; but as he had come to Derby an entire stranger—never having had an opportunity of meeting the inhabitants of this town on any other occasion—he might, perhaps, venture to trespass a little upon their patience, by offering a few remarks upon the great question which had called them together. Some people ask why we agitate this question. They would remind us, that were we to let it alone, the church itself would speedily work its own transformation into a voluntary church; but if we continue to agitate, say they, we shall so alarm the friends of the Church, that they will be induced to put on more than their wonted strength, in order to stop the agitation. It appeared to him, that there were two reasons why they should not accept this advice. In the first place (said Mr B.), it is a dis-honourable mode of dealing with our adversaries to say that we hope they will fall into a pit, while we are waiting to see the fall. To permit any of our countrymen to run a course which we expect will finally throw them down, appears to me to be unworthy of the generous character of Britons. Secondly, we cannot take the advice of our friends to be quiet upon this question, because the principle that we are endeavouring to circulate is a principle laid down by the Word of God itself. Our course is marked out by the Word of God, and I take it to be as much my duty to proclaim this voluntary—this scriptural—principle, as it is my duty to preach the gospel of Christ; I consider it my duty to preach the voluntary principle, because it derives from the authority of God the same binding force as the gospel of Christ itself; and we cannot, therefore, conceal any part of that which God himself has consented to reveal. Many of our Dissenting brethren do not enforce this principle sufficiently. They tell us that they proclaim the voluntary principle at the ordination of ministers, which, perhaps, occurs but twice in a life-time in many places. Is that enough? Will that reform the people? Often have I heard church people, and sometimes Dissenters, express their admiration of certain ministers, because they were never heard to utter a sentence on the subject. In many cases, however, you will find that the ministers have not been teaching the voluntary principle because the people have not taught it. It has been said—and I heartily concur in the sentiment—that those gentlemen who stand aloof from the question would like to see reputation and rank and wealth in the field before they enter. But let me remind those gentlemen that when reputation and rank and wealth are in the field—should they ever combine in such a field as this—it will only be when the people themselves are united and determined upon the question at issue [cheers]. What a glorious position would Lord John Russell have occupied, had he written seven years ago the admirable letter which he wrote the other day! Who thanks him for it now? [cheers and laughter]. Those who will be glad to see the Corn laws abolished very naturally rejoice that such a man has joined their ranks; but my joy would have been much more unspeakable seven years ago [hear, hear]. Had he espoused those principles then, he would have stood the first man in the ranks of free trade; it would have been said that that great cause was served by Lord John Russell, and the name of Russell would have been handed down to posterity with honour, reverence, and gratitude, by the unanimous voice of a thankful

and rejoicing people [loud cheers]. But now, who is to have the credit of it? We find the people coming forward in earnest on this question; we find them agitating with spirit and determination; and we have Russell and Morpeth joining them at this crisis. But for the "great fact" of the League, we should have been beaten, and these lords would never have aided the people in obtaining the repeal of the Corn laws. Only be patient, and we shall have Sir R. Peel beaten by the League also [much laughter]. Not one of these great men will obtain the credit which he might have had: in the history of free trade it will always stand recorded that the people secured it for themselves [loud cheers]. Knowing their power—finding that they can thus conquer both Whig and Tory—and seeing that both the Peel and Russell party must quail before them—we now ask the people to help us to carry the question of free trade in religion [laughter and cheers]. I don't see why religion should be shut out of the list [hear]. Sir Robert Peel took the tariff in hand some time ago, and made alterations in the duty of about seven hundred articles [loud laughter]; we want him to put religion in the list of articles, and to tell us that the trade of religion is henceforth to be free [renewed laughter and cheers]. If we should not succeed speedily in this question, we must not be troubled; we do not know how soon our efforts may be crowned with success. Why should we for moment shrink from the task? Who gave to us the privileges which we enjoy? Our suffering and enduring ancestors. They laboured for their posterity, and we are now enjoying the fruits of their success. Ought not we, therefore, to prepare for the generations that are yet to follow [cheers]? Shame upon the man that looks around him, and sees a rising population—the progenitors of many generations to come—and yet contents himself with a life of indolence, when so much remains to be done, and so many great principles to be struggled for ["hear, hear," and cheers]. It is our duty to promote the great cause of religious liberty, because its principle is contained in the word of God. Let us feel that there is a want of candour in waiting until our friends in the church shall be caught in some trap of their own—let us look at the duty which devolves upon us with regard to generations yet unborn [cheers]. Does any one suppose that establishments have had any influence in preventing the wide diffusion of Christianity? Suppose you were to endeavour to proclaim Christianity in Turkey; suppose you send your missionaries there; they preach the gospel; the grand Turk finds that this Christianity is spreading amongst his people, and he says, "Are you going to change my government?" "No," the missionaries reply; "we are only going to give you Christianity." "Well," says the grand Turk, "I happen to know something about the laws of your country; and the laws of your country really require the sword to support them. You have courts, troops, and constables for supporting this Christianity; I find that every piece of artillery in your army may be employed in the service of this Christianity in your own land; and are you going to give me this fire and steel, this powder and shot system?" [laughter and cheers]. Such may be supposed to be the language of the grand Turk. But let him know that there is nothing but the voluntary principle in your religion—let him know that when a Christian missionary lands upon his shores, he brings nothing with him that will touch any one of the political establishments of the country—let him know that religion is a matter between a man's conscience and God, and that no law takes cognizance what a man is and what he is not in religion, and he will see that he has no reason to interfere with the promulgation of your views. In one case you have to deal with individuals, but in the other case with laws [cheers]. Now the same remarks will apply to any government [hear, hear]. We are endeavouring to spread establishments in foreign countries—we are sending out bishops to our colonies, to the West Indies, to the East Indies, and to New Zealand—in fact, to all parts of the earth, from the rising to the setting of the sun. How different would be the effect if nothing but the voluntary principle were diffused! [cheers]. Members of parliament have been referred to: we must have something to do with them now. We have votes—at least, those of us who are electors. Do you think we are at liberty to dispose of those votes just as we please? Does the Great Lord of nations take no cognisance of the way in which his people employ their talent? May they use it against him and against his revealed institution without feeling that they are guilty? No! Your votes belong to God—your votes belong to the public, and not to yourselves individually. You are bound, therefore, to exercise those votes upon high principle, and upon nothing else [cheers]. A noble marquis in Scotland, on the eve of an election, sent his steward to a farmer, requesting his vote, and informing him that unless he gave it according to his landlord's wishes, he need not expect that his lease, which would very shortly expire, would be renewed. The farmer said to the steward—"Tell his lordship that my farm is his, and I am willing to resign it at his pleasure; but tell him, at the same time, that my vote is not mine—it is God's; and I cannot give it but in accordance with the principles which God has revealed." The steward told the marquis this; and what did he say? Did he take the farmer's lease from him? His reply was—"I did not know that I had such an honest man upon my estate" [cheers]. The noble marquis found the farmer was an honest man—he was proud to have him as a tenant, and renewed his lease immediately [renewed cheers]. In what way are you to use your votes? I should say, give them to no man who will not say that by his consent not one penny shall be taken from the

public purse for religious purposes. Do not support men who, for instance, will vote money to Maynooth [hear]. Let me remind you that if you do not care for your principles, how can you expect members of parliament to care for them? Members of parliament are not very remarkable for tender consciences [a laugh]; nobody expects anything more than a slight sprinkling of tender consciences out of the six hundred and fifty-eight men who compose the House of Commons [renewed laughter]. You are accountable for this want of conscience. If you allow such men to go and legislate for this great empire, whose proceedings have an influence upon all the nations of the world, look at the crime you are committing—the wrong you are aiding by your sanction; and let me urge upon you the importance of promoting just views with firmness, with perseverance, and with consistency [cheers]. The House of Commons is just what we make it; we are its creators. The crown cannot make it: the electors make it [hear]. If we find that we can thus create a House of Commons, until we have made it conformable to our own views and feelings, upon us rests a degree of responsibility of which we are not aware. Britain moves the world, and has long moved it; and I trust will long continue to move it. The members of the British parliament have the control of this great and important kingdom. Consequently we are promulgating a principle which, while it strikes a blow at the House of Commons, thunders its voice to the very ends of the earth [cheers]. Let us, therefore, inquire the weight of this responsibility; and when we do feel it, let us say to the men whom we have long known and long supported—"We will support you no longer, unless you conform to our principles" [loud cheers]. Under the present system, one sum of money is handed to the priests of Ireland; another to the Presbyterians; something is given to this church, and something to that; and by and by, they will be attempting to give to the Independents and also to the Baptists; for I am quite satisfied that some of the men in the House of Commons would "throw a bone to every dog" [laughter]. And why? Just because the dogs that are getting the bones have to pay for them [loud laughter]. When the government speak of relieving the people by giving to this, and giving to that, one would suppose that honourable gentlemen were supplying the money out of their own pockets [renewed laughter]; but in reality, we find that they are only relieving the people with their own money [loud cheers]. If you receive money from the government, you must pay it to them first: it's like "robbing Peter to pay Paul" [much laughter]. After advertizing to the manner in which the Protestant churches in France were conducted, pointing out, from observation, the many evils connected with the system—Mr Burnet dwelt at some length upon the movement which has recently been going on in Switzerland in favour of the voluntary principle. At a public meeting held in one of the Swiss cantons, a declaration of dissent had been signed by 100 persons and sixty students of theology. He next alluded to the changes which had taken place in the State or "established" religion of this country under different governments in past times; and concluded by calling upon the good people of Derby to unite heart and hand in supporting the high cause of the British Anti-state-church Association, by enrolling themselves as members of that body, and by taking care that, henceforth, in the election of their own candidates for seats in parliament, they will have no man whose views are not in keeping with the great principles of religious liberty [loud and continued cheering].

Mr D'ARCY IRVINE stated that they hoped to have registrars connected with every congregation in the town, for the enrolment of individuals as members of the association. He also informed the meeting that a number of tracts, illustrating and advocating anti-state-church principles, had been published, and that a bookseller in Derby would be appointed agent for their sale.

The Rev. W. F. POYLE, in an elaborate and animated speech, moved the following resolution:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the appropriation by the state of the public finances for the support of any hierarchy, or any ecclesiastical sect or party, is alike opposed to the spirit of Christianity, to social justice, and the welfare of the people.

The Rev. J. CORBIN briefly seconded the resolution; which was put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. R. STANION moved a vote of thanks to the deputation from the Anti-state-church Association, for their attendance on the occasion.

Mr STEVENSON seconded the proposition, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr BURNET acknowledged the compliment; and a vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman, the meeting separated.

PUBLIC MEETING AT SHEFFIELD.

(Abridged from the *Sheffield Independent*.)

A meeting was held in Townhead-street chapel, on Thursday evening, to receive a deputation from the Anti-state-church Society, consisting of the Rev. J. Burnet, of London, the Rev. J. P. Mursell, of Leicester, and Mr D'Arcy Irvine, of London. The attendance was not numerous, but the audience showed a lively interest in the subject of the meeting.

On the motion of the Rev. H. G. RHODES, seconded by the Rev. J. H. MUIR, the Rev. C. Larom was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, having briefly but appropriately addressed the meeting, called upon each of the members of the deputation in succession to address the meeting, which they did with great applause. Mr

Burnet concluded his address by saying, "Press on this work—watch candidates for seats in Parliament—let them feel the responsibility of makers of legislators, and give their votes in such a way as to secure a triumphant issue to this great object" [cheers].

Mr D'ARCY IRVINE mentioned that Mr Cobden had recently said, at Birmingham, that the Dissenters had been the most efficacious assistants in the qualification movement, and that if, as body, they would carry it out, they would be very differently regarded by their rulers. He urged, therefore, that they should promote the registration of voters, that they might be in a position to return men of their own principles to the House of Commons [hear, hear].

The Rev. Mr HORSFIELD moved, that it was the opinion of the meeting, that all votes of money from the funds of the nation, for any hierarchy or ecclesiastical sect, was injurious to Christianity, to social justice, and to the welfare of the people.

The Rev. H. G. RHODES seconded the motion. They had recently heard, that this parish was to be divided into twenty-four or five parishes. The declarations thrust by Church influence into the Municipal act, had deprived this borough of the services of Edward Smith, Esq., and had compelled their first mayor, a consistent Churchman, to swear four times that he would not injure the church.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr HATTERSLEY moved a vote of thanks to the deputation. He asked, where were the tutors of the Dissenting college [hear, hear]? Were they training up the students to act as they did [cheers]? As a farmer, he was a friend of free trade; and as they wished to free agriculture from its swaddling bands, so let them set free religion [cheers]. He had nothing to lose in the estimation of his Church neighbours. He was a speckled bird among them. Yet so strong was the prejudice against Dissenters in his neighbourhood, that a man known as such had every reason to despair of justice [cheers].

Mr EBENEZER SMITH seconded the motion. The union of church and state was the greatest bane to Christianity that ever Satan invented. The church had been connected with the state since the time of Constantine, and they were now met to endeavour to promote the dissolution of that unhallowed connexion.

Carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr BURNET returned thanks. They had been speaking of friends who ought to be with them. But he had to speak of a friend who had come; and they owed to the chairman, for coming forward on this occasion, their hearty and unanimous thanks.

The Rev. Mr MURSELL seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN briefly acknowledged the compliment, and expressed his hope, that he and his friends would be able to give some pecuniary aid to the Society.

The meeting closed shortly before ten o'clock.

DISRUPTION IN THE CANTON DE VAUD.

We select the following extracts from a letter to Mr Lorimer, of Glasgow, written by M. Scholl, one of the leading pastors in the great religious movement which is going forward in Switzerland, as throwing considerable light on the relative position of the seceding pastors, the government, and people. The letter is dated Dec. 1:—

The result of the appeal to government (says the writer) has been very bad. On Friday, out of the ministers or pastors who had sent in their resignation, thirty-three had retracted it; and I very much fear many more will do it. Some very devoted men are in the number. They have been led to act in this inconsistent way by various motives. Great attachment to their parishes—the pressing solicitations of a great number of their parishioners petitioning them for it—and, finally, the full powers granted to government, which led such ministers to fear that religious liberty being about to be suspended, they would not be able to establish a Free Church, or even to hold meetings in their parishes for worship. They concluded too hastily from all this, that if they were to persist in their resignation, they would not be able to act as ministers at all. . . . At the same time I am convinced that by far the greatest number of the resigning ministers will remain firm. Many of them are very poor, and without any means of supporting their large families. With such and many others, it has really been a noble act of faith and conscience, which will not be without its effects.

Committees have been organising in order to help such ministers who need it, and also to prepare the basis for a Free Church; but I very much fear it is not to be soon realised. From what I have stated, you must perceive that in all this we are labouring in the most unfavourable state of things. Two circumstances especially make our situation very difficult and unpromising. 1. Religious liberty is suspended on the will of government, by the full powers granted. It is also dependent in its exercise in great measure upon the will of the worst part of our population, who have even yesterday attacked and interrupted a peaceful meeting of Christians worshiping the Lord. It has been with great difficulty that the rabble, excited by the proclamation of government against oratoires, and by wine, have been prevented, by part of the congregation and other friends, from entering by force the said place of worship, and ill-treating the congregation. Many blows were given and received. Religious liberty is not written on the constitution. We have against it the government and the rabble; and for it nothing, except that it had been enjoyed for many years, but is now half lost.

2. The people in general understand not at all the conduct of the ministers who are gone out. A number of them are strongly prejudiced against them, and full of religious antipathies. All has been done to produce the worst state of feeling. The real flock of Christ is a very small minority, lost in the great mass; and many real Christians are ignorant of, and prejudiced against, the principle of a church separated from the state. The Christian people coming with a single eye out of the

church of the state, and wishing for a free church, is a minority in the minority. Except at Lausanne, and some others, there are hardly any such. I may say that, generally speaking, we are come out without a people as far as your great principle is concerned, the only and supreme headship of Christ practically recognised. How different a state of things from that in Scotland in both these important respects!

The recantations of so many of the seceding clergy, has produced a great impression in the canton of Vaud, and, of course, reproaches and recriminations abound, when all should be union, affection, and energy. A journal, published at Geneva, on the 4th of this month, says:—

The retractions continue to arrive, and amount to about forty. There is more than one name on the list, that will be considered by the government as a double victory, and as the earnest of future success. Some of the seceders attempted to negotiate with the Council of State, requesting that the benefit of recantation might be extended to all the pastors without exception, and time be granted for a meeting of the clergy to reconsider their act. The council returned a peremptory refusal, and a portion of the negotiators then gave in their retraction without reserve. One of the retractors, Mr Fabre, a minister of Lausanne, has since retracted his retraction! It seems probable that more were prepared to withdraw their signatures, had they found their parishioners disposed to allow them to remain. The journals mention the case of the pastor of Grandson, who convoked the communal council, and offered to revoke his resignation if the people wished him so to do; but that he was informed, and not very politely, that the sooner he withdrew himself the better.

THE PONTYPOOL CHURCH RATE AGAIN!—On Saturday, the 6th inst, three Dissenting ministers, two Independent, one Baptist, with twelve other individuals, appeared before the magistrates, E. H. Phillips, Esq., and Mr D. Jones, clergyman, to answer to a summons for non-payment of a church rate alleged to have been made on the 16th of May last. Each of the parties summoned, severally addressed the magistrates, in a similar manly and effective manner to the recusants of the same parish, whose speeches we gave in a late number of the *Nonconformist*; urging objections to the rate, chiefly on religious grounds, but also on the score of illegality, and expressing their determination not to pay it. The names of the parties appearing before the magistrates were, Messrs Isaac Hiley, of Varteg; Isaac Evans, Henry Harris, William Morgan, Herbert Daniel (Independent minister), William Phillips, William Hiley, T. Lewis, Maurice Jones (Independent minister), David Edwards (Baptist minister), John Havard, B. Jones, and W. Bird. Mr Owen, solicitor, appeared on behalf of one of the defendants, and submitted several legal objections to the rate, which Mr Phillips refused to take into consideration. All the fifteen were ordered to pay, and are expecting the police to levy by distraint upon their goods. Thus the parliamentary church extorts the means of support from reluctant population, and excites popular hatred by its great injustice and oppression. It is worthy of notice, that in the course of the proceedings, one of the magistrates, Mr D. Jones, remarked that that was not the time and place to enter into the arguments for church establishments; but that, on another occasion, he was ready to meet any person to discuss the question. At the close of the proceedings, therefore, Mr Stephen Price, of Abersychan, asked the rev. gentleman whether he meant his observations as a challenge to the Dissenters to publicly discuss the subject, as there were parties present prepared to take up the gauntlet. Mr Jones cried, "No! no!" Mr Price said, "That is best for you" [laughter].

HERTFORDSHIRE ELECTION.—DEFEAT OF MR HALEY'S FRIENDS.—On Saturday last Mr Halsey met the electors of the district at Hertford. Sir M. Farquhar occupied the chair. Mr Halsey then proceeded to address the meeting against free trade, and in favour of continued protection to the agricultural interest. He was followed by Mr Ward, M.P., who replied to his reasoning in detail, and advanced numerous arguments in support of repeal. A smart discussion then took place, in which Mr Halsey, Mr Philips, of Briggings park, Mr Delano, and Mr Lattimore, tenant farmers, took part. Mr Lattimore pressed the hon. candidate so hard that he was obliged to confess, "I do not come here to argue the question: I come here to state my opinions, but not to give my reasons" ["Hear, hear," "Oh, oh," and some confusion]. Mr Ward submitted a motion disapproving of the corn laws, which was seconded by the Hon. W. Cowper, M.P., Mr Delano moving as an amendment—"That Mr Halsey is a fit and proper person to represent this county in parliament." The Chairman then, having requested none but electors to hold up their hands, put the question, and declared the numbers to be—for Mr Ward's motion, 38; for Mr Delano's amendment, 36: majority, 2. Several persons thought the majority was much larger, but it was extremely difficult to count accurately in the hubbub that prevailed. The great majority of non-electors in the room were certainly Free-traders. Mr Halsey and his friends did not seem very much annoyed at the division, the state of feeling in the room having probably led them to expect a far larger majority. The meeting broke up, after a unanimous vote of thanks to the Chairman. Three cheers were given for free trade, but amidst some strong hissing. It is said that the requisition to the Hon. S. Cowper has received 1,000 signatures, and is to be immediately presented. About 4,000 may be expected to poll.

EDUCATION.—At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Sudbury on Tuesday last, it was resolved to establish a British school for increasing the means of education for the children of the poor and working classes.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

London is now fairly aroused on behalf of a repeal of the corn laws. Besides the meetings of the Court of Common Council and of the city of London noticed below, the borough of Southwark, and the districts or parishes of St Pancras, Farringdon Without, St Luke's, the Liberty of the Rolls, St Martin's in the Fields, and Clerkenwell, have held public meetings within the last day or two; all numerously attended, and all hearty, unanimous, and enthusiastic in their denunciation of monopoly.

A Court of Common Council of the city of London was held in the Guildhall, on Thursday, for the purpose, among other business, of considering the propriety of petitioning her Majesty to take all such means as she may constitutionally possess for throwing open the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the free importation of food. The Lord Mayor took the chair at two o'clock, and having briefly explained why he had not called the court before the hour of two, Mr D. Wire rose and proposed the five following resolutions:—

1. That great, powerful, and wealthy as this nation is, by far the greatest portion of her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and a great portion of her Majesty's subjects in England, Scotland, and Wales, have long been reduced for their principal food to potatoes.

2. That all classes, but especially the poor, have been and are great sufferers from this result of the national economy.

3. That the blight which has now fallen upon that root has subjected the people to great anxiety and distress, and to the danger of famine.

4. That their sufferings are attributable to erroneous legislation, which, by excluding the importation of food and restricting commerce, *shuts out from the people the bounty and goodness of God*.

5. That this Court do present its earnest and anxious prayer to the Queen, that her Majesty will graciously use all the means which are in her Majesty's power to open the ports of this kingdom to the free importation of food.

Mr Johnson seconded the motion. An opposition was raised by Mr Lawrence, who moved an amendment, that a petition be presented to her Majesty, praying that the corn laws should be abolished; but this motion, as well as others subsequently submitted, were negatived, and the original resolutions were carried by an almost unanimous vote. Mr Wire then moved a resolution that the address to her Majesty be presented in the usual form, which was also agreed to.

GREAT CITY MEETING.

On Monday morning, in pursuance of a requisition signed by 1,236 electors of the city of London, a meeting of the livery was held in the Guildhall, for the purpose of enabling the citizens to express their sentiments on the subject of the corn laws, in connexion with the prevailing apprehension of a scarcity in the article of food. It is needless to say that the spacious hall was crowded long before one o'clock, the hour of meeting. Soon after the hour of summoning, the Lord Mayor entered on the platform amidst the cheers of the assembled thousands, followed by some hundred gentlemen, amongst whom were James Pattison, Esq., M.P.; Raikes Currie, Esq., M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.; W. Williams, Esq., M.P.; T. Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Arch. Hastie, Esq., M.P.; George Moffat, Esq., M.P.; John Dillon, Esq.; R. Ricardo, Esq.; Alderman Sir John Key, Bart.; Alderman Wood; Mr Sheriff Laurie; W. G. Prescott, Esq.; J. Ingram Travers, Esq.; D. W. Harvey, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq.; Charles Perkins, Esq.; W. Miller Christie, Esq.; W. Wansey, Esq., &c., &c.

The LORD MAYOR, who occupied the chair, stated that he had received a letter from Lord John Russell, which, with the permission of the meeting, he would read to them [cheers]. It was as follows:—

"My Lord Mayor—As I understand that your Lordship is to preside at a meeting of the Livery to-morrow, on the subject of the corn laws, I request you will have the goodness to state, that the particular circumstances of my position at this moment will prevent my attendance.

"I have the honour to be, your lordship's obedient servant, (signed) J. RUSSELL.

"December 14, 1845."

Mr DILLON, in an able and energetic speech, moved the first resolution, affirming the unsoundness of the protective system. Mr RICARDO seconded the resolution; which was put and carried with only three dissentients. The two following resolutions, detailing the evils resulting from the corn laws, and demanding their immediate abolition, were spoken to by Mr ROBINSON, Mr W. M. CHRISTIE, Mr C. PERKINS, and Mr W. HAWES, and carried almost unanimously.

Mr COBDEN, on coming forward to address this meeting, was received with vehement and reiterated cheers, which lasted for several minutes, accompanied with the waving of hats and handkerchiefs from the body of the meeting and from the galleries. His speech was most telling and effective. After a reference to the importance of the city of London, in the great contest now waging with monopoly, he took as a general illustration of the position of the cause, the relative position of the county of Essex and city of London.

Essex, as you are all aware, is a county fertile in wheat, and, as has been just remarked by a gentleman below me, fruitful also in calves [hear, hear, and laughter]. Now, I believe that all the wheat that the Essex farmers have to sell comes to London. You are the customers to the Essex growers for all the wheat which they have to sell. You buy their wheat from them, and pay for it, too, and you, I believe, give them a higher price for it than they could get for it in any other market in

the world [hear, hear]. You, in fact, buy from them all the wheat which they have to sell; but you say that, in addition to this, you want more, and Sir John Tyrrell calls the protectionist squires to tell you that there is quite enough for you, and that you shan't buy any more [hear, hear, and laughter]. Now that, I think, is a very fair illustration of the whole case of the great mass of the population of England against the landowners of England [hear, hear, hear]. We tell them that we will buy all the wheat they have to spare, as we have done already, but we claim the right, in addition to this, of buying as much more as we can get, and pay for it and eat it [cheers and laughter]. The squires are rather bold gentry, considering that you are their customers. I believe that it is customary in the City to behave rather civilly, courteously, and politely to those by whom you subsist, and whose custom keeps your shops and warehouses open [hear, hear, and laughter]. But these Essex gentry set themselves up as something above their customers [hear, hear, hear]. Now we tell them that if they can do better with their wheat by sending it to Russia, Poland, Spain, or Austria, they can do so [laughter], but that, if we are to have it, we must have it on the ordinary market terms, and that they must be civil into the bargain [great laughter]. But they tell us we have had enough [hear, hear].

Mr Cobden on the ministerial crisis:—

But we have no government, it appears. Sir Robert Peel has taken flight at the first operation of his own sliding scale [derisive cheering]. With a majority of ninety at his back in the House of Commons, he has run away from his handwork. Gentlemen, that is not very plucky, I think [immense cheering and laughter]. But there is something characteristic even in his retreat, for he has not told us what he intended to do, nor what he intends to do now. I may venture to prophesy, that he will veil that in as much mystery from us free-traders as he did his projects, with regard to his tariff, from his friends the agriculturists, so that he may deal with us, by and by, as he did with them [hear, hear]. No one knows what Sir R. Peel proposes to do; but we all know that he has run away from office, that he has left the ship without a helmsman, and that we are now looking to that courageous little man [tremendous burst of cheering]: yes, we are all deeply interested in the career of that statesman [cheers again]. I say for myself, as an elector of the city of London, I wish Lord John Russell would advise her Majesty to send for the Duke of Richmond [shouts of laughter, and ironical cheering]. Let him try his hand at forming a cabinet. Let me see—Sir John Tyrrell at the Home office [laughter], Colonel Sibthorpe at the Horse Guards [bursts of laughter]. Let us, I say, try a protectionist government, and see how they would carry on the business of the country. But there is one objection to it, too; it would kill you all with laughing. I doubt whether even those venerable and vigorous-looking figures at the end of the hall (Gog and Magog) could keep their sides from cracking. But if Lord John Russell undertakes to carry on the government of the country with 180 or 200 men in the House of Commons to vote in accordance with the sentiments expressed in his letter to you, he will something differ from the man who ran away, with his ninety majority in the same house [cheers]. Suppose he does, and stands by the principle contained in that letter, and I will vouch for it he will [tremendous cheering and waving of hats, which interrupted Mr Cobden for some moments], then an appeal to the country follows [renewed cheers]. What will you do in London in such a case? Give us four good ones [immense cheering]. We must have four good ones, and no shams.

A VOICE: And one of them Cobden.

Mr COBDEN: No, I won't leave Stockport till I go in to Buckinghamshire [loud laughter and cheering]. But, remember, when the election comes on, you must give us four or none [cheers]. We will have none of your half-and-half renegades at the next election. We will have no more of two on one side and two on the other, and so, when in action, turning half the guns on their friends. No; at the next election for the city of London we must go, as the Americans say, the whole ticket. We will have four good men. Two of them we have [cheers]. . . . We will have every metropolitan member, and I promise you in all the large towns in the north—in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Then do you think anybody will set up in the rotten potato interest in Bristol or in Newcastle [cheering and laughter]? I say to you, as I have said elsewhere, give us a general election, and we will carry the total repeal of the corn laws in every large free constituency in the kingdom. Do you think the men in the calf interest in Essex will dare to carry on the government against the united voice of all that constitutes the wealth and power of the community? No, they won't; and here let us proclaim to Lord John Russell, that, if he will be firm to his principles, as I am sure he will [cheers], he has the country at his back [enthusiastic cheering].

The rumoured compromise:—

But there is some talk of a compromise still! I see by the *Morning Herald* [laughter] that if Sir Robert Peel had brought in any measure, he intended to compensate the monopolists [oh, oh!]; and the same venerable authority went on to say, that a country which compensated the slave-owners would never object to compensate the landowners [oh!]. Now I will tell the *Morning Herald* what the difference is between the two cases—it is this, that we are not slaves, nor do we intend to be [cheers]. I will tell you the sort of compensation these people ought to have, since they will talk about compensation—just that which the city police would give if they had discovered in the hands of one of the light-fingered gentry a piece of furniture belonging to some poor artisan, and which had been stolen from him. . . . Compensate the landowners for the bread tax! Why, they never had a right to the bread tax [cheers]. They passed that law in 1815, under protest of their fellow-citizens. There are those now living who remember the crowds waiting to sign the petition at that time, a petition which received 40,000 signatures, and London was then the very centre and focus of opposition to the law. We say, then, down with the idea of compensation or compromise. We go for the total, immediate, and unqualified repeal of the corn law [long continued and enthusiastic cheering].

Mr P. A. TAYLOR, who moved the next resolution, calling upon their members to support repeal, said that there was not the slightest doubt that, whenever an election took place, four thorough free traders

would be returned for the city of London by a very large majority.

Dr BOWRING, the next speaker, said that Mr Cobden ought to form a portion of the new ministry:—

My friend has spoken of those who will probably be some of the new ministers, but I believe public opinion will be little satisfied till a portfolio is offered to him. He should be President of the Board of Trade [great applause]. He is the man to hold out the hand of peace and friendship to all nations [hear, hear]. He is the man to teach mankind, as he has taught his country, that their interests are the interests of peace and commerce and extended trade, and to give a new tone and character to the legislation of the land [applause].

Mr PATTISON, M.P., followed; and, at the conclusion of his speech, called for three cheers for Lord John Russell, which were instantly given. After one or two more addresses, the meeting broke up.

GREAT MEETING IN THE FREE-TRADE HALL,
MANCHESTER.

The League had a great meeting in the Free-trade hall at Manchester, on Wednesday evening. The large building was filled in every part. Mr George Wilson was the chairman; and the platform was graced by Mr Cobden, Mr Bright, Mr Milner Gibson, Mr Brotherton, Mr Fox, the Mayor of Salford, several civic gentlemen, and some visitors from America.

The chairman congratulated the vast assemblage on the promising position which the free trade question had attained. Any attempt to patch up the Corn law was out of the question: the country had pronounced its fiat:—

"It is not merely that Leeds, and Manchester, and Birmingham, and Bristol, and Edinburgh, have had their meetings; but take all the leading towns in the empire, and you will find that with a very few exceptions every locality has had its demonstration. Many, indeed, have had more than one. At no meeting have the resolutions passed been for aught else than a total and unconditional repeal. At no meeting have they been carried in any but a unanimous way; and from one end of the kingdom to the other the cry has been ringing—echoed by men of all parties—to open the ports and allow food to come in free." Mr Wilson read a number of particulars, showing the gain which the League had made, by establishing claims and objections, in the Registration Courts of certain counties: in North Warwickshire, the clear gain was 106 votes, or two per cent. of the whole constituency; in Buckingham, 328 votes, about 5½ per cent.; in East Gloucestershire, 271; East Somerset, 574, or 5 per cent.; South Cheshire, 397, or 5½ per cent.; East Surrey, 553, or 9 per cent.; North Stafford, 942, or 9½ per cent.; South Staffordshire, 936, 11 per cent.; North Cheshire, 899, or 14 per cent.; Middlesex, 1,986; West Riding of Yorkshire, 2,404 or 7½ per cent.; North Lancashire, 2,082, or 29½ per cent.; South Lancashire, 3,682, or 18 per cent. These figures gave the following general result; the constituencies attacked by the League number 143,731 votes, that is to say, within a fraction 32 per cent., or nearly one-third of the whole constituency of England: the free trade gain is 16,446, or nearly 12 per cent. of the constituencies operated upon.

After a lengthened address from Mr Milner Gibson,

Mr Fox rose to address the meeting, which he did in one of the most splendid orations ever heard within the walls of the building; and many parts of his able speech were responded to by the audience in every possible way that could indicate its approval of so masterly an advocate of this most righteous cause. His stirring appeal to such as had the means to qualify themselves, but who had not yet done so, was uncommonly well received. At the conclusion of his speech, the hall rang again with the most enthusiastic cheering.

As the meeting was not prepared to expect either Mr Cobden or Mr Bright to be present, it was no sooner known that they had unexpectedly arrived, but the call was instant and irresistible, which brought up Mr Cobden, who electrified his audience with the prospect the League now had of achieving its grand object much sooner than he himself had anticipated. He recommended, in his own peculiar and effectual way, that there should now be a pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, to support Sir Robert Peel, or any other ministry who would pledge itself to the repeal of those obnoxious laws. In particular, he advised that there should be a monster gathering of the Manchester public, and also of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, on the race ground, Kersal Moor, and that there should be no mistake in the determination of the meeting to have the corn laws obliterated from the statute book. He counselled with unusual vigour the prompt determination of every man, deserving the name of "Free-trader," at once to qualify, if his means would permit, there being, in his opinion, no other mode in which the mass of the public could either recover or maintain their political rights.

Mr BRIGHT was well received, and gave the meeting to understand that, if the League should happen to want more money in the prosecution of its designs, that he had reason to know that plenty would be forthcoming, and recommended that there should, in addition to the meeting recommended to be held on the race course, that there be another meeting of the monied class, and to show to their enemies a bold front, and, also, that the sinews of war were at hand for any sudden emergency that might occur.

Mr BROTHERTON spoke last; and, taking up an idea playfully started by Mr Fox, bespoke testimonials to Mr Cobden and Mr Bright when the corn laws should be abolished, as the real authors of the repeal.

STOCKPORT had its free-trade meeting on Thursday evening: four or five thousand persons are said to have been present. Sir Ralph Pendlebury presided; and speeches were delivered by Mr Cobden and Mr Marsland, the members for the borough, and Mr Bright. The resignation of the Ministry was announced, and occasioned much excitement. Mr

Cobden rejoiced at it. He brought to their recollection that it was Sir Robert Peel who, in 1841, when famine and distress were prevailing in that town

"Who headed that gang of plunderers and monopolists: he forced himself into the Queen's council, knowing right well, as I believe from my heart he does as well as anybody in this assembly—feeling as strongly as I do the truth of what I am going to say—knowing that the very cause of the misery in this district was the cause which he came into power to uphold. . . . I give him no credit, for I have seen too much of him, for any feeling of remorse on account of the injury his system has inflicted upon the country. *Sir Robert Peel felt for Sir Robert Peel, and not for you.* 'Verily, they have their reward,' this monopolist ministry. . . . But we don't exult in the spirit of vengeance over the fallen monopolist leader. No; what we wish to do is this—to let his example be a warning to his successors."

Mr MARSLAND, the other member for the borough, said:—

He did not rejoice at Sir Robert Peel's resignation. He knew not who might come in. He believed that, emancipated from the party by whom, on account of early ties, he was enthralled, Peel would be determined to do that which, clear-sighted as he was, he knew to be necessary for the safety of the country. *The Whigs had never made an improvement or carried through a reform not forced upon them by their own party.* They were behind the age—behind their party. Late, indeed, the world had seen some very sudden conversions—he put little faith in them. He disliked to see the awakening of those who slumbered fastest when their exertions were most needed. However, one point was undoubtedly gained—they had, at last, nailed some of their political leaders to free trade, before they were in possession of power.

MEETING AT BIRMINGHAM.

Birmingham held its town's meeting on Monday, attended by about 8,000 persons, and presided over by the Mayor. It was composed of men of all political parties. The chief characteristic of the meeting was an amendment to the effect that extended suffrage should go before free trade. After Mr Scholefield and Mr Melsom had addressed the meeting, Mr Sturge said he was of opinion that the abolition of the Corn laws would be productive of very great advantage to the country, but he thought the best way of securing their permanent abolition, was to give to the people a full, fair, and free representation. He was not about to go at much length into the subject, but he would conclude by proposing an amendment, which would, he hoped, be found to be a peace-offering on this occasion. He had the strongest desire to see the day when there should be a perfect freedom of trade between all nations, and a full participation of all classes of this country in political rights; and when such a state of things was effected, war would be heard of no more; but, on the contrary, the only rivalry would be a rivalry in kindness and benevolence amongst nations [cheers]. Mr Sturge concluded by proposing the following amendment:—

That, under the present apprehension of impending famine, it is the duty of all to unite in a strenuous effort for the abolition of the tax on food, which operates as one of the most injurious of monopolies; and this meeting especially trusts that the earnestness and zeal with which the working classes join in the demand for the opening of the ports will induce other classes of the community to give their influence in support of the just claims of the unenfranchised to that free and equal representation to which they are alike entitled, by Christian equity and the British constitution, and which is the only security for the permanence of this and other reforms.

Mr O'NEIL came forward to second the amendment.

The MAYOR said that the requisitionists had appointed a committee to draw up the resolutions, and he could put no amendment that was not sanctioned by the requisitionists ["Hear," and cheers].

Mr O'NEIL then proceeded to address the meeting, followed by Mr Alderman WESTON, Mr MASON, who said—"For the repeal of the corn laws the middle classes should have the hearty co-operation of the working men: but he thought they should have in return the promise that, if the Whig administration came in for seven years, a change in the franchise should take place in that period;" Mr BLAXLAND, and Mr G. EDMONDS, who read an approving letter from Mr Thomas Attwood. The two M.P.'s for the borough then addressed the meeting. Mr MUNTZ spoke in favour of total repeal; Mr SPOONER against it. After addresses from Mr DAWSON, M.A., and other gentlemen, the meeting separated.

At Doncaster, on Wednesday, and at Exeter, on Thursday, public town's meetings assembled to petition her Majesty, or memorialise ministers, to take prompt and decisive measures for affording a sufficient supply of food to the people. At the last-named meeting, Mr Divett, who has hitherto supported a fixed duty, announced his conviction "that the time for compromise has passed." Sir John Duckworth had "business of much importance," and was unable to attend. At Derby, a crowded, enthusiastic, and most successful meeting (the seventh within ten days) was held on Tuesday, and attended by Mr Cobden and Mr Bright, with the object of organising a free trade qualification movement in that populous district. About 2,000 persons were present; and, amongst the speakers, were W. Evans, Esq., M.P. for North Derbyshire, and Edward Strutt, Esq., M.P. for the borough.

The West Riding meeting has been fixed to be held this day at Wakefield. Amongst the number who have signed the requisition (says the *Leeds Times*), we perceive the names of several gentlemen who have hitherto been favourable to a fixed duty, and many others who are in various ways connected with the landed interest. It is anticipated that the

meeting will be one of the largest ever held in Yorkshire since the agitation of the Reform bill.

Amongst other public bodies, poor law guardians are memorialising government to open the ports and repeal the corn laws.

In Yorkshire and Lancashire, meetings follow one another in quick succession; Wakefield, Doncaster, Saddleworth, Keighley, Otley, Pudsey, Batley, and Yeadon, are among the places which have given their unanimous verdict against the bread tax, and demanded immediate execution of the criminal; and next week Bradford will lead on the remaining towns and large manufacturing villages in their petition for the same object. The men of Lancashire too have been most active. Memorials and petitions from operatives exclusively have in many cases been adopted in both counties in addition to those promoted by all classes without distinction.

MEETING AT PLYMOUTH.—A highly respectable and most important town meeting was held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, at noon, on Friday, pursuant to public notice, to take into consideration the present state of the nation. The Mayor occupied the chair, and stated that he had called the meeting in compliance with a requisition signed by gentlemen of every political grade—Whigs, Tories, Radicals, and Chartists. Amongst the speakers were Mr Gill and Lord Ebrington, M.P.'s for the borough, who both expressed their adhesion to a total repeal of the corn laws. A memorial to the Queen was adopted.

Among town councils, those of Kendal and Carlisle have adopted memorials to government, praying for the opening of the ports.

In Scotland meetings have been held in Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Perth, Dunfermline, Cupar, Kirkcaldy, Hawick, Galashiels, Dalkeith, &c., &c.

At the Glasgow meeting—which took place on Thursday, and was composed of 4,000 or 5,000 persons—the Lord Provost, who presided, mentioned the curious fact that the town council of Glasgow had declared in favour of free trade fifty years ago. Mr Oswald, M.P., and Mr Dennistoun, M.P., were present. The latter gentleman said he expected to have made a sensation, but he was disappointed:—

It so happened that before I left London I was told, upon high authority, and under the strongest assurances of my secrecy, that until my arrival in Scotland the circumstances should not be mentioned; but I say I did happen thus to know, even before the papers announced it, that Sir Robert Peel had resigned, and that Lord J. Russell had been sent for. Thinks I, here is a fine business for me, which will save me from making a speech altogether. The people, thought I, will be astounded and stand aghast at the importance of the information which I will be the first to communicate. But, gentlemen, the Queen has been too sharp for me. I supposed her Majesty would send her commands by post; but, it appears she was so eager to have this great affair settled, that, upon Sir Robert Peel's resigning, a special messenger was sent here for the noble lord, and the result is, that you yourselves had this information twenty-four hours before I could have communicated it [a laugh].

A great meeting was held at Perth, on Wednesday last, which was addressed by Dr Young, the Right Hon. Fox Maule, Mr Duncan, M.P., and other gentlemen.

FREE TRADE MEETING AT HAWICK.—On the 10th instant, a public meeting of the inhabitants, called by the magistrates, in compliance with a very respectfully-signed requisition, was held in the large hall of the Subscription Rooms, for the purpose of adopting a memorial to the Queen, praying her to command her ministers to open the ports of the United Kingdom for the immediate and permanent free admission of corn, and other provisions. John Goodfellow, Esq., chief magistrate, was unanimously called to the chair; and the meeting was addressed by Baillie Briggs; Mr Thomson, minister; John Wilson, Esq., manufacturer; and Mr George Watson, skinner. Resolutions in favour of the object, and also an address to the Queen, were unanimously agreed to. The meeting was very large, and most harmonious; but the harmony was nearly destroyed at the close, by an inconsiderate attempt to procure three cheers for Lord John Russell, coupled with free trade. The proposition, however, met with silent contempt by more than nine-tenths of the meeting, who thus exhibited much good sense and forbearance. The people must not again, as Cobden well remarks, "Throw up caps and huzza." We have had enough of that. They must, and they can, break down the right arm of the aristocracy. Then comes the state-church, which has justly been called their back-bone. What next?

THE ESSEX SQUIRES AND THE CORN LAW QUESTION.

A great meeting of the Essex Agricultural Protection Society was held, on Friday, in the principal inn at Chelmsford. Mr Robert Baker, of Writtle, presided; several members and influential country gentlemen attended; and the whole company, landowners and farmers, is estimated at six or eight hundred. All the speakers breathed indignation against Sir Robert Peel, and showed a front of defiance against further aggression on the principle of protection. Mr Baker said that the resignation of the Premier had come like a thunderstroke on the farmers of Essex. Mr Bramston, who had given in parliament his assent to the last change in the corn laws, as final, declared such treachery unprecedented. Sir John Tyrrell saw the present state of things, and Sir Robert Peel's resignation, with great satisfaction. The reign of humbug was over—the "organised hypocrisy" was no more:—

He had of late, within the last forty-eight hours,

spent some time at the Carlton club, and he was delighted with all he had there witnessed. There was not an attendant there who was not loud in his condemnation of Sir Robert Peel. The general remark there was, that Sir Robert had betrayed the interests of the agriculturists of the United Kingdom. Let them pause, and let them consider to whom they were indebted for the resignation of Sir Robert. To Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington. Nor was he alone on their side: he could tell them that the agriculturists had with them Lords Stanley and Wharncliffe, Lord Granville Somerset, and the Honourable Sidney Herbert. He had had this from the best authority.

But it appears from the hon. baronet's speech, that he himself had been a pillar of the throne of humbug. His confession is very brief and intelligible:—

I know that a large portion of the Conservative party have got into disgrace by a supposed betrayal of the agricultural interest during the last four years; but this I know, that some of the most honourable and straightforward minds among us felt themselves placed in this position:—Here is a great party bound together, and although to the propositions they propound we cannot in our conscience assent, still the choice we have to make is, whether or not we will break up our party.

Resolutions, which passed unanimously, asserted the necessity of maintaining intact the principle of protection; urged the members of the Society, and inhabitants of the county, to untiring exertions; and placed £2,000 in the hands of the managing committee, to be used in any way that they might deem essential to the interests of the Society. The meeting separated with three groans for Sir R. Peel.

PREPARATIONS FOR A GENERAL ELECTION.

The provincial journals are already beginning to report intelligence with reference to the expected dissolution of parliament, and many M.P.'s are already in communication with their constituents.

The *Leeds Times* says that Mr Beckett will be ejected from that borough. "James Garth Marshall, Esq., Henry Cowper Marshall, Esq., and Mr Alderman Hamer Stansfield, have been named as most eminently qualified to represent this borough in the ensuing parliament, and it is probable that one of these champions of free trade will shortly be put in nomination. [What is to become of William Aldam, Esq., in case of another general election?]"

The *Leicester Mercury* of Saturday has the following paragraph:—"We are happy to announce to that large body of our townsmen who hold the principles always advocated in this paper, that—sudden as is the event which will doubtless lead to a dissolution—a candidate holding those principles will certainly be introduced to the electors; and we therefore caution any of our friends against pledging their votes."

The *Edinburgh Chronicle* calls the attention of the Dissenters of Edinburgh to their resolutions on the subject of Maynooth and establishments, and urges them to make them good by finding representatives equally opposed to commercial restrictions and state-churchism.

North Staffordshire, which now sends Mr Adderley and Mr Russell to parliament, will, it is said, certainly return two Free-traders. One of the latter candidates will be Mr Edward Buller, of Dilhoon. On Friday, only one day after the resignation of ministers was known, Mr Adderley sent an address to the Stafford paper, announcing his intention of standing for the county. As to the boroughs, Stoke-upon-Trent will return a Free-trader, in conjunction with Mr Ricardo; Alderman Copeland will give place to another and scarcely less distinguished "master potter." For Newcastle it is known that Mr Colquhoun will not again offer himself. Mr Buckley's re-election is considered safe, but that depends entirely upon circumstances.—*Chronicle*.

SUNDERLAND, FRIDAY.—The Marquis of Londonderry's son, Lord Seaham, is to be brought forth as a candidate for the northern division of the county of Durham. Last night a meeting was held on the subject at Sunderland, and nearly every Conservative solicitor in the town retained on behalf of his lordship. The Hon. H. T. Liddell is pledged to stand on the same interest; and if the rival houses of Ravensworth and Londonderry do not become reconciled, it is certain that another Liberal member will be returned with Mr Lambton for the county. Colonel Beckwith is spoken of as a candidate. It is not likely that any change will take place in the representation of the southern division; and, in all probability, Lord Harry Vane and Mr John Bowes will be returned without opposition. I believe I may say with confidence, that Sunderland will be again contested. Mr Hudson's prestige has greatly diminished since the last election; and the heavy losses which some of his friends have suffered by speculating in his lines, have convinced them that it is not good policy to pin their faith too closely to the railway king. The Whigs generally have come over to the free trade cause since the adhesion of Lord John Russell, Lord Morpeth, Mr Macaulay, and Mr Labouchere; and, if the Liberals unite, there is little doubt but that Mr Hudson will never sit for Sunderland. Mr Bagshaw's friends are exceedingly anxious that that gentleman should contest the borough. There can be no doubt of the return of Mr Bright and Mr Grainger for Durham. The former hon. gentleman has greatly increased in popularity since he became the representative of that city. Opposition to Mr. Wawn is talked of at South Shields.

NEWSPAPER.—One of the firm of Hudson, Hutt, and Co., in the South Shields glass works, was some time ago solicited to come forward on the Conservative interest for that borough, and should he consent to stand, the influence exerted on his behalf will be

considerable; but there is good reason to believe that the constituency of South Shields are now too liberal in principle to return a supporter of monopoly as their member.—*Correspondent of the Chronicle*.

In Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr George Crawshay is talked of as the successor of Mr Hutt in the representation of Gateshead.

At Andover a severe contest is expected. On Friday evening a meeting of some of the friends of Ralph Etwall, Esq., M.P., was held at the Masons' Arms Inn, to devise preliminary plans to secure his re-election, should a dissolution (as expected) take place. It was also proposed that J. Walter, Esq., of Bearwood, the principal proprietor of the *Times*, should be solicited to be allowed to be put in nomination with the above-named present member. He is recommended by the League.

In the event of a dissolution of Parliament, the Liberal electors of the county of Oxford are already on the alert. It is not their intention of allowing Lord Norreys, Mr Harcourt, and Mr Henley to walk over the course. A public announcement has been made that three gentlemen of independent principles will be brought forward to contest the county on free trade principles, who will give every voter an opportunity of recording his vote in favour of civil, religious, and commercial freedom. The borough of Oxford now returns one Liberal and one Conservative. Another Liberal will be brought forward, and nominated with Mr Langston, the present M.P. The present Conservative member, D. Maclean, Esq., will, it is thought, be displaced by Mr Morrell an opulent brewer.

STROUD.—Mr Marcus W. Meryweather Turner, who dates from the Wyndham Club, St James's, Dec. 11, announces his intention to offer himself for Stroud, at the probable early dissolution of parliament, in opposition to the present sitting members, Mr Scope and Mr Stanton.

WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—It is stated by those who profess to have some acquaintance with the subject, that Mr Blagden Hale will make room at the next election for the Marquis of Worcester, in the western division of the county.—*Glocestershire Journal*.

MR ESCOTT AND HIS TORY CONSTITUENTS.—We understand that the majority of the committee who conducted the election of Mr Escott have, during the past week, signed a declaration, expressing their determination to withhold their support from him, in the event of his again becoming a candidate for the representation of Winchester. The letter of dismissal was signed by no less than twenty electors. It is rumoured that the Conservatives intend to put up Mr Fleming, of Stoneham park, at the next election, if his consent can be obtained. Should such be the case, and should Mr Escott again offer himself, as he at the late mayor's dinner pledged himself to do, a curious state of things will present itself at the approaching dissolution of parliament. We shall have three Tory candidates, and one of them relying for his seat on Liberal support. We say Liberal support; for it is now clear that, if Mr Escott is again returned for Winchester, it must be by the aid of those who opposed him at the last election.—*Hampshire Independent*.

SOUTHAMPTON.—We understand that, owing to the near prospect of a dissolution of parliament, Mr Beste, of Botleigh Grange, is about to issue his address to the constituency of Southampton, in accordance with the resolutions of the Reform Protection and Registration Association, and with the requisition presented to him last year.—*Ibid.*

SMITHFIELD CLUB CATTLE SHOW.—The annual show of the Smithfield Cattle Club took place on Wednesday, at the Horse Bazaar in King street, Portman square. As a public exhibition it proved as attractive as ever; numbers of visitors arriving early, and continuing to increase as the day advanced. As to the show itself, the animals were more numerous than last year, equally good as regards breed, but showing less over-feeding. Prince Albert's name appears in the prize-list, along with several other titled competitors; but the bulk of the awards seem to have fallen to the side of the farmers. Many of the superior animals were disposed of at good prices during the exhibition. At the annual meeting of the members, which took place in the committee-room, the office of president, vacant by the death of Earl Spencer, was conferred on the Duke of Richmond. The dinner took place on Friday evening, at Freemasons' hall; the Duke of Richmond presiding. The proceedings were of the usual routine character. Prince Albert visited the show on Saturday morning, but the visitors pressed around him so much as to occasion great annoyance.

UNPRECEDENTED DEMAND FOR BIBLES IN MANCHESTER.—A correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury* states one or two facts to prove that recently a very unprecedent call for copies of the Scriptures has sprung up in this town and neighbourhood. For the thirty-four years of the existence of the Manchester auxiliary, ending 30th September, 1844, the average annual issues from its depository appear to have been 5,712. In the year ending 30th September, 1845, the distribution exceeded 15,000. In the month of October last, the issues amounted to 9,618. During the first eighteen days of November, 11,718 copies were issued; and, subsequently, for several days together, there was an average issue of more than 1,000 per day. By this unexpected demand upon their resources (some of the editions being sold at a loss) the auxiliary became somewhat embarrassed; a finance committee was appointed to raise additional subscriptions; and, at a meeting held last week, a cheque for £500 was received through the Bishop of Exeter, the donation of "An Octogenarian Friend."

ANOTHER LEAGUE MOVEMENT.—£250,000 FUND.

(From a Correspondent of the *Times*.)

Owing to the sudden changes which, phantasmagoria-like, have been going on at government headquarters, the council of the League called together all the subscribers of £50 and upwards to the last great fund, to confer with them as to the best course to be adopted in the present crisis. The circular convening the meeting was signed by Mr George Wilson, Mr Cobden, M.P., and Mr Bright, M.P. About sixty or seventy persons attended, consisting generally of the most extensive manufacturers, spinners, and merchants of Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood. I heard it estimated that upwards of 100,000 people depended for their subsistence upon the establishments belonging to these capitalists. Amongst others of similar standing on Chancery present were, Mr Robert Ashton, of Hyde; Mr R. H. Greg, Mr Nathan Lees, Mr John Whittaker, of Hurst; Mr Alexander Henry, Mr Edmund Ashworth, Mr Thomasson, Mr E. P. Thomson, Mr Whitehead, Mr John Cheetah, Mr Buckley, Mr Bannerman, Mr Alderman Kershaw, Mr Alderman John Potter, and Mr Orrell, of Stockport. The mayor of Manchester was present, and Mr Walker, M.P., Mr Marsland, M.P., Mr Cobden, M.P., and Mr Bright, M.P. The chairman of the Executive League council, Mr George Wilson, opened the proceedings, by informing the meeting that the council had received many letters from their friends in different parts of the country, urging the adoption of particular plans of action at the present crisis; some recommending that great open-air demonstrations and county meetings should be called; others advising that petitions should be got ready from every part of the kingdom previous to the meeting of parliament; and others urging the propriety of raising another large subscription. The executive council, therefore, wished to consult the opinion of all their large subscribers in the immediate neighbourhood of Manchester, before taking any decided step. A brief conversation ensued, in which Mr Greg, Mr Whittaker, Mr Cobden, Mr Bright, Mr Ashworth, Mr Wrigley, Mr Marsland, and Mr Walker, took a prominent part. It was decided not at present to call open-air meetings, as it was considered that, in the depth of winter, such demonstrations could not be generally carried out with success. It was, however, thought that monster meetings might be found necessary in the spring. Upon the subject of petitioning, the Chairman reminded the meeting that the League had three years ago resolved not to petition the present parliament again; but, as the Duke of Richmond's Protection Society had recommended petitions in favour of the corn laws, it was advisable to reconsider the subject. Mr Thomasson and other gentlemen present spoke against petitioning the present parliament, but all the members of parliament present strongly advised the opposite course, and it was ultimately agreed to rescind the previous resolution, and to recommend the Free-traders throughout the country to petition the House of Commons for the total and immediate repeal of the corn law. The opinion was expressed that, in the course of a couple of months, two or three millions of signatures would be given to the petitions. The question of raising a large fund to meet all emergencies was next discussed. After a conversation extending over a few minutes only, it was resolved unanimously, amidst loud cheering, to raise a fund of a quarter of a million sterling, to be placed at the disposal of the League, to be called for at such times and in such amounts as the Executive Council should determine. Not a doubt was expressed as to the certainty of obtaining the money, or even a larger sum, if necessary. Several gentlemen present stated their intention to give five times as much as they contributed to the last fund. It was agreed, also, that a public meeting should be called in the town hall, on Tuesday week next, to launch the subscription list. If the Duke of Richmond, or any of his followers, wish to see the quality of the men they are going to do battle with, I would recommend them to be present at that meeting. I predict that a larger sum of money will be subscribed than was ever before contributed in one meeting for any public object.

THE BROTHER OF KIRKE WHITE ACCIDENTALLY DROWNED.—A melancholy accident occurred on Tuesday last at Tiverton to the Rev. John Melville White, the rector of that parish. It appears that he had for many months past been suffering from defective vision, and on Tuesday last, in the afternoon, he had occasion to go into a plantation on his premises, where he had been felling some poles, for the purpose of looking at them before they were sold. These poles were lying close by the pond, and it is supposed Mr White stumbled against the stumps of some of the trees in the path, and was precipitated into the water. His body was not found for several hours afterwards. The following day an inquest was held on the body, before Mr John Pilgrim, jun., deputy coroner. After hearing the evidence, which was of a most conclusive nature, the jury immediately returned a verdict that the deceased was accidentally drowned. The rev. gentleman bore a most amiable and honourable character, was greatly beloved in his parish, and by a large circle of friends. He was brother of the poet, Henry Kirke White, and was in the 61st year of his age.—*Bury Post*.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE is in future to be supplied with water from the wells at the back of Trafalgar square. Workmen commenced laying down pipes from the Horse Guards across St James's Park on

PRINCE ALBERT AND THE POOR RATES.—Prince Albert has consented to pay the poor-rate arrears on his Flemish farm, and offers to contribute an annual sum equal to the amount claimed, but without an admission that he is liable in law to pay the impost. The parish-officers demur to this proposal.

BEQUEST OF UPWARDS OF £6,000 TO HER MAJESTY.—On Wednesday morning the funeral of an eccentric but wealthy individual took place. Mr William Akers, aged eighty-seven, lately residing in lodgings at No. 17, Dean street, Fetter lane. His property was invested in the funds, and at his death was found to amount to £8,000. He had no relatives living. There are in his will several legacies to persons of whom he had only a slight acquaintance. The residue of his property, amounting to £6,000, he bequeaths to her Majesty, to be applied, he wishes, towards the liquidation of the national debt. The only ambition he expressed in life was that he should be buried with pomp, and he was interred, at his own request, in Wimbleton churchyard, where lie the remains of his sister and her husband. The funeral procession consisted of mutes, plumes of feathers, javelin men, hearse, drawn by four horses, decorated with plumes and housings of rich velvet; three mourning coaches, each drawn by four horses, similarly decorated.

THE POTATO CROP.—It appears from a return just published that, compared with the average for 1842-3-4, the supply of potatoes has fallen short to the extent of no less than 171,700 sacks, and also that prices are now nearly double the highest point of the period alluded to. This scarcity will no doubt increase rather than diminish.

A subscription has been commenced for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., in Westminster Abbey; to be placed with those to the memory of Mr Wilberforce, Mr Granville Sharp, and Mr Zachary Macaulay, as recording his labours in conjunction with those distinguished individuals.

Postscript.

Wednesday, December 17th.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

Lord John Russell has not yet undertaken the commission to form an administration; nor is it probable that his lordship will come to any decision before to-morrow.—*Morning Chronicle*.

The papers report with great minuteness of detail the movements of members of the last Whig ministry. Among those who had interviews with Lord John Russell, yesterday, were Viscount Morpeth, Earl Grey, Sir G. Grey, and the Right Hon. E. Ellice.

At twelve o'clock Lord John Russell held a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen at his mansion in Chesham place. The meeting consisted chiefly of members of the last Liberal administration. There were present Earls Grey, Auckland, and Clarendon, Viscounts Palmerston and Morpeth, Sir John Hobhouse, Sir George Grey, the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, the Right Hon. F. T. Baring, the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, and the Right Hon. H. Labouchere; Mr Charles Buller was absent through indisposition. The meeting broke up at three o'clock.

With the exception of one interview of three-quarters of an hour's duration, on Thursday last, with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home department, Lord John Russell has had no communication whatever with any member of the late administration, either before or since they tendered their resignations to the Queen.

THE MONEY MARKET.—On the prevalent impression that Lord John Russell had actually completed his arrangements for a new cabinet, consuls fell yesterday about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. It was also currently reported that Prince Albert had been appointed commander-in-chief. This rumour took the city completely by surprise, and was the subject of general conversation on 'change. Some appear thoroughly to disbelieve this story, while others assert they have good authority for giving it credence.

THE CAUSE OF THE LATE RESIGNATION.—Various reports are going about with respect to the measures to which Sir Robert Peel could not get the assent of his cabinet. That the total repeal of the corn laws was included in his plan there seems to be now little doubt. The only uncertainty is, as to the greater or less gentleness of the process by which the squires were to be let down, and as to some extensive plans of compensating them for their loss. But certain it appears to be, that the measures proposed by Sir Robert Peel were such as to justify us in ranking him henceforth amongst the "total," if not the "immediate," repealers.—*Chronicle*.

ARRIVAL OF THE BRITANNIA.

We have advices by this arrival to the 2nd inst., from Boston, which appears to have left only a few hours before the President's message would be received in that city. Congress opened at Washington on the previous day. In New Orleans, as in the northern commercial cities, the inflammatory article published in the *Washington Union*, under the head, "The whole of Oregon, or none," had created much excitement and alarm, lest the peaceful relations existing with this country should be violently disturbed. The Locofoco press of the south had also very generally taken ground against the extreme pretensions of Mr Polk; while the power wielded

by Mr Calhoun will, in all probability, be exercised against any policy which may endanger the preservation of peace. In Michigan, on the contrary, according to the *Detroit Advertiser*, the rampant nonsense of the *Union* was received with pleasure by the democratic party.

The *New York Herald* states, from "a private and confidential source," that Sir G. Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, is in Washington, and that, in compliance with his request, Mr Pakenham had visited the Secretary of the Treasury and other members of the government. "Sir George Simpson departed, and is now in New York, highly elated with the belief that the position which Mr Polk intends to assume on the Oregon question in his message, is highly favourable to the maintenance of peace between the two countries, and to an agreeable termination of this difficult question."

The emigration to Texas and the far west is immense. The Mormons were endeavouring to effect a sale of Nauvoo to the Roman Catholics of Cincinnati. It was expected that not less than 2,800,000 barrels of flour would be received at the port of New York alone, from the interior. Prices were rising. The *New York Courier* says—"Assuredly there are some million barrels of flour (estimating five bushels of wheat as a barrel of flour) on hand beyond our largest consumption of this country and its ordinary exports."

The Britannia had on board Lord Metcalfe, who has retired from the fatigues of his responsible office. "Lord Metcalfe," says the *Montreal Courier*, "did not tender his resignation to her Majesty, but we are informed that the state of his lordship's health being known to the Home government, they very considerably offered to Lord Metcalfe to relieve him of his onerous office. We have not heard who is to be Lord Metcalfe's successor. The government will in the interim be administered by the Earl of Cathcart."

Canada is not free from the potato disease. In the western districts the crops are damaged to a serious extent. The projected fortifications and improvements on the frontier were on a magnificent scale, and will take two or three years to complete.

Texan accounts are to the 12th ult. The papers announce remarkable discoveries of the ruins of ancient cities in the interior. The contest for the representation of Texas in the United States Senate was proceeding with great spirit.

The accounts from Tahiti state that her Britannic Majesty's ship Collingwood, Admiral Sir G. Seymour, had arrived there and saluted the French protectorate flag. Sir G. Seymour has command of the English fleet stationed on the North Pacific coast, and to operate on the shores of Oregon, if need be. It is this fleet that Commodore Stockton has just been despatched in the frigate Congress to watch.

MR O'CONNELL AND THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

At the meeting of the Repeal Association on Monday, Mr O'Connell delivered his sentiments on the political events of the past week. He commenced with his usual flourish:—

Hurrah for repeal [loud cheers]! No compromise ["never, never"]! No surrender ["never, never"]! No postponement [loud cries of "never"]! Come weal, come woe, they would struggle for repeal [cheers]. These were not his sentiments alone—they were the sentiments of one of the most distinguished patriots that Ireland ever produced—William Smith O'Brien [cheers].

He then read a letter from that gentleman, in which appears the following paragraph:—

Our leaders give the word—Repeal and no compromise. Our electors, whilst they realise our triumphant expectations, will repeat the cry—Repeal and no compromise. The shout will thrill through every Irish heart, and every patriot tongue will re-echo—Repeal and no compromise.

But matters were urgent:—

Famine was staring them in the face, and pestilence was following in its wake. The potato disease was making frightful ravages, and had reached a height that should cause the greatest apprehension. Pestilence, the first results of famine, was already commencing in Ireland—in Waterford, Limerick, Drogheda, and in various districts of the south, fever was raging violently. It was their duty to rally the people, and endeavour to raise them from the miserable condition into which they were sunk.

He would say this—Let them give the Irish people food—let them abolish the corn laws [cheers]. On that question he would join the people of England—he would make common cause with them—he would insist, with the English people, upon cheap food—he would raise his voice for the opening of the ports, and join in the cry for the abolition of the corn laws [cheers]. He was entirely with Lord John Russell; and he felt it to be his duty, as well as the duty of every other Irish member, to attend in London, from day to day, and vote on every occasion in support of cheap bread and food for the people [cheers].

At the early part of the meeting Mr O'Connell said, that "the time had come for every man to double his subscription [series of "Hear, hear"]". He (Mr O'Connell) and his family were accustomed to pay £1 each per month; henceforth, that sum should be doubled." Rent for the week, £207 19s. 11d.

BATHS AND WASHHOUSES FOR THE LABOURING CLASSES.—A public dinner was given yesterday evening, at the London Tavern, in celebration of the laying of the first stone of the first of the institutions for providing cheap baths and washhouses for the labouring poor. The Lord Mayor occupied the chair. A large collection was made during the

evening. The total of it amounted to more than £1,000, the several subscriptions being very large and very numerous.

By the explosion of an old steam boiler at the cotton mill of Messrs Rothwell and Kitts, Bolton, on Monday, nine lives were lost, and several persons seriously hurt.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.—SOUTH SHIELDS, DEC. 15, 1845.—Taking time by the forelock, politicians in the north are all agog, anticipating a general election. In our town, report says that if the member, Mr Wawn, stands, he will be opposed by a young sprig of a barrister, called Fyler, who is conservative of the Urquhart Russia-phobia school; and by Mr Hartley, an extensive glass manufacturer, belonging to Sunderland—a Wesleyan and Conservative, a political renegade, and a warm admirer of Mr Hudson. He, very probably, will be offering a glass work with vast improvements; but that will not take in South Shields. Mr Medcalf, it is reported, will retire from the representation of Tynemouth, the cause of which is ill-health. The northern division of Durham will be contested by Lord Londonderry's son, Lord Seaham, Messrs Liddle, Hedworth, Lambton, and two free-traders. The Liberals of Sunderland are determined to pit Colonel Thompson against whoever may be brought forward. Gateshead has to be contested by a Free-trader in the franchise, corn, and the church. Newcastle, ditto. The southern division of Northumberland is to have, at least, one Free-trader in the field. The Tories of North Durham seem determined for a stand-up fight. Already Lord Seaham has retained the principal attorneys in the district. "When rogues differ honest men get their own," will probably be illustrated in their quarrel. In the midst of all this stir, ominous of good we hope, appears the prospectus of a new local paper, to be called the *Newcastle Guardian*, which is to be devoted to voluntaryism, free trade, and an extension of the franchise.—*From our Correspondent*.

THE FREE TRADE MOVEMENT, happily, not dependent on ministerial arrangements, extends daily. On Monday night there was a great meeting of the inhabitants of the Staffordshire Potteries, at Hanley. 2,500 persons were present. The chair was taken by W. Ridgway, Esq., and the principal speakers were J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P., and John Bright, Esq., M.P. The main object of the meeting was to promote the registration movement in the adjoining counties. The last resolution was as follows:—

That the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to those ministers of the gospel who have so faithfully advocated the cause of humanity and of the people, notwithstanding the attempts which have been so unworthily made to cast odium upon them for their fearless discharge of this duty.

On the same evening there was a town's meeting at Hull—the Mayor in the chair. On Monday, too, Bradford held its town meeting, 2,000 persons being present. Many of the poor fellows who filled the body of the hall had no work, and were hungry, and to them many of the statements uttered were sadly and keenly evident. Trade is poor there. It is reported that 600 combers were turned off lately by one firm, and others are doing likewise. Amongst the speakers were Mr Rand, the Conservative repealer, and Mr Aeworth, M.A., president of Horton college. The meeting was most harmonious.

THE MURDERS ON BOARD THE TORY.—This case of Capt. Johnson was yesterday proceeded with at length for the fifth time. The case is not, however, closed. At the close of the examination Mr Broderip asked the prisoner if he had anything to say in defence. Mr Humphreys advised his client to say nothing; and he exclaimed in a low tone, "No, sir." Mr Broderip: Then it is my duty to remand you on these several charges until Tuesday next. The prisoner, who was in a very exhausted state, was then assisted out of the dock, and, after partaking of some refreshment, was sent away in the police van to Westminster Bridewell.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—The Executive Committee are actively engaged in carrying on the great work assigned to them. Public meetings have just been held at Northampton, Kettering, and Harborough—at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, South Shields, and Sunderland—at Nottingham, Derby, and Sheffield; and arrangements are being made for holding public *soirées* in most of the large towns of the kingdom. Birmingham and Coventry are to be visited early in January; Southampton, Bristol, and Bath, immediately after; while Manchester and the other great manufacturing districts only await the settlement of the great food question. It will be seen, by an advertisement in this day's paper, that a series of "TRACTS FOR THE MILLION," in prose and verse, essay, narrative, and dialogue, is to appear early in the new year.

PARLIAMENT was yesterday formally prorogued to the 30th inst. by the Lord Chancellor in person.

THE ULSTER COLLEGE.—Dr Andrews, a member of the church of England, and professor of chemistry in Belfast, has been appointed vice-president of the Ulster college.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas	Flour
English ..	4540	5920	1760			
Scotch....				4410		
Irish						
Foreign ..	3970	1000				

Nothing doing—prices quite nominal.

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Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.
 For 7 lines....5s. 0d. | For 10 lines....6s. 0d.
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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"R. J." and "Amicus." Our columns are too crowded to admit of their communications this week.
 "An Elector." There were not three constituencies in the empire from which we received more than one return. We therefore dropped it. Finsbury and the Tower Hamlets are, we hear, on the alert.
 "Q in the Corner." Such a letter ought to be subscribed with the name and address of the writer.
 "Duplex." Next week, if possible.
 "A Subscriber from the Beginning" will, we expect, have very little occasion to find fault, as our arrangements give us more room than we had anticipated.

TO OUR READERS.

With the present year the *NONCONFORMIST* will close its fifth volume, and complete its first series. On Wednesday, January 7, 1846, will be presented to the public the first number of a new series—enlarged, remodelled, and, it is confidently trusted, greatly improved.

The principles of the *NONCONFORMIST* will remain, of course, unchanged. It will contend as earnestly as ever for justice as the basis of our political institutions, unrestricted liberty as the soul of commerce, and entire independence of magisterial support and control as essential to the purity and extension of the Christian church.

The spirit in which these great objects will be pursued, will be the same as before—a high appreciation of the ends at which it aims, and an earnest desire to compass them by peaceful and legitimate means. The pervading tone, however, of the paper, it is proposed to modify. The *NONCONFORMIST* has established its character both for integrity and for power—and the circumstances under which this has been accomplished, imposed upon it the necessity of taking an antagonistic attitude. It has had to do battle for its present position of strength—but that position having been made good, it can henceforth wield gentleness with effect. Recognised as having a right to speak, and a claim to be listened to, it will speak in the accents of faithful friendship.

The new series will be distinguished by a greater VARIETY of literary talent. Arrangements are in progress for securing valuable assistance from several able hands, and the superiority of the *NONCONFORMIST* will, it is hoped, be enhanced, by making its editorial articles the reflection of more than one mind, and its correspondence from abroad, direct, frequent, and instructive.

The news department of the paper will be entirely remodelled. It is determined to make it AN INTERESTING FAMILY JOURNAL, as well as an influential organ for the diffusion of sound political and ecclesiastical views. Ampler space for this will be commanded, without enlarging our sheet, by slightly widening and lengthening each column, and by a somewhat more economical distribution of type. By this arrangement, it is calculated, about two pages will be gained.

Solidity and strength have been, hitherto, the characteristic features of the *NONCONFORMIST* newspaper. Without impairing these, it will, in the forthcoming series, combine with them ornament and grace. Its mission is to all classes—and for all classes it will seek to provide entertainment as well as instruction.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DEC. 17, 1845.

SUMMARY.

ON Thursday morning last it was announced that the Peel ministry was dissolved, and that Lord John Russell had been sent for. The cause of this sudden event can rest upon no stronger evidence than rumour, until the meeting of parliament. It is pretty generally believed, however, to have been, not so much a disagreement among ministers as to the repeal of the corn laws, but as to the grant of compensation to the landowning monopolists. The *Patriot* affirms, on what authority we know not, that the government was all but unanimous in deciding upon the accompaniment of the measure with the payment of thirty millions of public money, to the proprietors of the soil, and that Peel, wisely demurring to

so extravagant a proposal, threw up his office, and thereby put an end to the administration. If this fact be true, we are perhaps nearer to a revolution, than most folks would dream of. There is a cool audacity—a glaring selfishness—an indication of beggarly greed—and a depth of meanness, in the bare intention, indicating that our patrician dignitaries are playing for their all, and that they will venture their all in the contest with the people. How Englishmen would have stomached the modest demand, any one acquainted with their commercial character might foretell. Sir R. Peel has done the aristocracy a service by crushing it in the egg. Had it ever seen the light, all respect for rank and nobility would have vanished at once. Unhappily, however, the spirit which could entertain this monstrous thought remains unquelled; and it is with it that the country will have to wrestle a throw. Would that the country had at its command a fitting exponent of its now determined will!

Lord John Russell has been sent for, and has summoned around him his former colleagues, to deliberate upon the present position of affairs. A conference was held at his residence yesterday, and in the afternoon his lordship went to Windsor to communicate to her Majesty the result. Whether he has accepted the commission entrusted to him to form an administration for the repeal of the corn laws, we are not at the moment of writing informed. Our postscript will probably contain decisive intelligence. Assuming that he will undertake the arduous task, it occurs to us, instantly, to ask, what are his capabilities for, and prospects of success? Is he willing to put out the whole strength which the British constitution places at the disposal of the Crown, for a victory over his own order? He must begin with the people. Is he likely to gain a majority in the House of Commons? We question it. If he do, will he manage the House of Lords? We question it again. Before the people fight at his bidding, he ought to give them some reasonable assurance that he both can and will lead them on to triumph. Some manifesto, decisive enough to put the question beyond dispute, will be looked for. Or are we again to fight in the dark? Time is precious. As weeks roll on, opportunities for meeting the danger which threatens us pass away. Will the old parliament be summoned to receive a statement of the new ministerial policy? or will it be instantly dissolved? The latter seems more probable. If so, who is to inform us what are to be the leading principles of the Whig cabinet? With what drawbacks do they intend to propose the measure upon which the people have set their hearts? Will they offer compensation, direct or indirect? And, when they have carried their free-trade policy, if they shall ever have the good fortune to succeed, do they mean to treat us again with a declaration of finality; and, spite of all protest, erect a second ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland? Parliaments are chosen for seven years—during that time what mischief may be done! We ought, then, to have some clear development of the principles which are to guide the new administration. But in the absence of it, it behoves the constituencies of the empire to take measures for their own security.

Meanwhile the League is at work. They are about to launch a new project. They propose to raise a quarter of a million of money to carry on their registration of freeholds in the counties. We can scarcely doubt, after what they have accomplished, that they will succeed in obtaining the sum. Whether it will not come too late for their own special purpose the event only can decide. As a demonstration, however, against the landocracy, it will, no doubt, tell with accumulative power. The proposition bespeaks both the boldness and the earnestness of the party from whom it comes.

Meetings have been held during the past week, in the city of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Plymouth, Stockport, and other places, too numerous to be mentioned, both in the metropolis and the provinces. Almost without exception, they have been stirring, enthusiastic, and unanimous. Excitement is rising to the highest pitch; and, if our constituent bodies give anything like a correct interpretation of the predominant national feeling, we should have a parliament of free-traders, without mistake. Many of them, we find, are making preparations; but they are not such as deeply to impress us with hope for the future. The same class of men who have, evermore, betrayed the people, simply because they are not of the people, are being universally sought out.

The monopolists are not idle. Protection societies are meeting to discuss agricultural prospects. Dukes are prescribing substitutes for food. One of them suggests bringing potatoes from Portugal, and another recommends a pinch of curry in warm water. Yes, we have come to this pass. Lest their graces should have to curtail their immense establishments, honest labourers, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, must go to bed on winter evenings with empty stomachs, made warm and comfortable with curry powder. Would not corn do them more good? Might they not prefer bread to an Indian spice? What is the

mustard without the beef? Who values curry powder without something to eat it with? The absurdity is becoming too glaring to last. The cry for food will come with a vengeance, ere long.

Other news we must compress into a few words. In Hertford, the Tory candidate, Mr Halsey, at a meeting of the electors, has been beaten by Mr Lattimore, a tenant farmer, who proposed and carried a resolution in favour of a total repeal of the corn laws. At Nottingham, Derby, and Sheffield, cheering meetings of the Anti-state-church Association have been held—a fact which, at the present moment, when excitement runs in another channel, is peculiarly significant. We have accounts of more cold-blooded massacres in Algiers, where the French, despite their cruelty, are not gaining ground; and we have intelligence from the United States, reiterating the probability of a blustering Presidential message to Congress on the subject of Oregon.

THE DECAMPMENT.

MINISTERS are off, every man of them, and the strong cabinet has tumbled to pieces without hands. Sir Robert Peel, alarmed probably at the boldness of his avowed purpose, and disheartened by defections in his own staff, has resigned office. The Conservative administration is at an end. But yesterday it was in full-blown pride, and not a speck upon its flaunting petals indicated decay, much less death. Suddenly it has withered—suddenly as did the prophet's gourd. We look round, and it is not. What has happened? No adverse vote smote it—parliament was not sitting. No back-stair intrigue snipped its thread of life; for no intrigue could calculate upon profiting by its decease. What then? Merely this—Heaven looked it in the face, and made it confess its own lie; and shame struck it speechless, powerless, dead. Yes! the cruel falsehood of 1841, which asserted, in the face of teeming evidence, Britain's dependence for her national superiority on laws which rob the poor, has turned up in its own odious deformity; and they who said of it, "These be thy gods, O Israel," are confounded at the work of their own hands. They are gone, leaving behind them an impressive warning to all future statesmen, that what is begun in hypocrisy cannot leave off in truth.

Lord John Russell has been sent for. What will he do? All the members of the small coterie of Whig ex-placemen are dancing attendance on the embryo premier—what chances of success can he command? It had been more for the good of the people, perhaps, that the son of the cotton-spinner should have taken the aristocracy by the throat, than that it should be done by the scion of a lordly house. There would have been more dramatic propriety in it—and the work of retribution would have seemed to be consigned to a more appropriate instrument. Lord John, we fancy, can hardly be the Nemesis at whose hands "the order" are destined to receive the cup of punishment. He has none of the air about him of an appointed executor of Heaven's avenging ordinations. The man is not solemn enough for any such work. There is something too dapper and spruce about his movements—too finical and exclusive—to anticipate from him the rude blow which must eventually overturn monopoly. He is hardly large enough to be made the fist of a roused and indignant nation. He has no heart—it is the fault of all his class—to give to the work which now cries out for a statesman to complete it. The exigency of this day requires a Cromwell—and Lord John, we surmise, has never given promise of becoming one. If he begin at all, he will probably begin as usual—eschew all plebeian assistance, but that which can do his out-door work. To damp enthusiasm, to frown down just expectations, to venture upon daring moves when nothing very serious is likely to come of them, have been the Whig nobleman's achievements hitherto. It remains to be seen whether he is of sufficiently heavy metal to displace an obstructive phalanx of monopolists.

'Tis a curious and an anomalous position in which for a country to be placed. The dominant idea in it—the idea which has outgrown all others—is corn-law abolition; and yet it is an idea which cannot find a fitting administrative exponent. The invisible hand has dashed in pieces the strongest cabinet of modern times—but cannot even yet make itself palpable, nor do its own work. The Whigs, who are consulting as to what they shall undertake, are but the puppets of this hidden power. Most singular is it, that aristocracy, with all its resources, in their compactest shape, cannot, dare not, face this yet unembodied idea. The presentiment in the mind of the people is now essentially the ruling power of the empire. Majorities are as nothing in the presence of that. And yet that—even that—all conquering as it is, must wait the bidding of some dozen aristocrats, ere it can take shape and fulfil its mission amongst men. Famine approaches us—manufactures become sickly—commerce droops—every great national interest exhibits signs of coming distress—and a quarter of a hundred millions of people, with abundant means within reach, without lack of intelligence, and bold

enough, when pricked to it, to face any danger, stand in silent and helpless suspense, unable to save themselves from ruin, until Sir Robert this, and my lord that, have agreed to look upon the remedy as practicable. Conventionalism has narrowed our choice of public servants to patrician families—and of them, there are seldom a dozen members decently competent to do the work of the nation. Unfortunately, it is too obviously the interest of the exclusives to keep up the delusion in order to keep all but their own class out of place and power.

Should the Whigs decide upon accepting office, there remains to us the comforting assurance, that the power conferred upon them will differ *toto caelo* from that which they once wielded so greatly to our disadvantage. Theirs will not be the triumph of their party. They will have no *carte blanche* of confidence from the people, to fill up as their aristocratic humour may dictate. They will be nothing more than the instrument which the country consents to use in place of a better. They will be watched with keen-eyed vigilance. They have no stock in trade to waste upon frivolities. As popular favourites they had opportunities to betray—as servants reluctantly put up with, they will have need of putting on their best behaviour. Lord John, indeed, is such an ingrained devotee of "the order," that he may display airs of haughty self-consequence, even at the hazard of his own success. But they whose energy has pushed him to his slippery eminence will quickly remind him of his dependence, and, if they cannot inspire him with the spirit of heroism, will probably prevent his exhibition of lordly impertinence. The whole coterie may, haply, lean more carefully than they ever yet did upon the only power which can sustain them. One and all, their only chance is the ladder. Let them kick that away, and their fall becomes inevitable.

What a change in our prospects has one short week produced!—a change, we fear, for the worse rather than the better. Come, however, what may, let the constituencies hold themselves prepared. A general election is close at hand—and earnest Reformers, as too commonly happens, will, unless they are prompt and determined, be taken by surprise. The electoral field will swarm with the old Liberal candidates, under colours adopted for the occasion. Men there will be, by the hundred, whose sudden conversion ought to warn us against expecting from them the fruits of a genuine repentance. Professions will again pass, where personal fitness ought to be required. In the hurry of the moment, nothing but free trade will be thought of. Breadth and generosity of political principle will be regarded as of less importance than a right vote on the pressing question of the day. Ecclesiastical freedom will probably be left to stand over till another general election. With due forethought, all these things might have been secured, without endangering the movement against the corn laws. Even now, sufficient time may remain to make the requisite arrangements. In hope that it is so, let every man be at his post—and every constituency enter forthwith upon its work. The crisis is a sudden one—but, rightly turned to account, it may prove but the commencement of a vast and vital change.

WHY, THEN THE MUSTARD WITHOUT THE BEEF.

THINGS have not gone on so smoothly as the public hope suggested. There was always room for apprehension that "Leviathan was not so tamed." Matters are still so far from settled, that anything prepared for a weekly journal may be overturned by the more active revelations of the next morning or evening paper. But the last impression was, that the Whig old set were coming in again. Their organs in the press were triumphantly pointing to the effect to be produced upon the Oregon question, by the knowledge that the author of the Syrian war was restored to the foreign office; and the holders of Pennsylvanian bonds were quaking with the doubt, how far the honesty which got the better of simple repudiation, might resist the added stimulus of a promised war. Explosive mixtures were *up* again, and Captain Warner's shell was already at a premium. In France all that wears moustaches was in a fervent heat, and the smug men of honest callings were paying the penalty of the high looks on which they had rashly ventured.

In England too, the prospects of the great cause were extensively fallen. A compromise was never so nearly approximating to a certainty. When of two chief parties concerned, one at heart wishes for a little qualified mischief, and the other for the most that it can bring about, the result is in too great jeopardy to be called doubtful; it is the case which so constantly ends in trouble to the parish officers. While the Tories were to do the work, the Whigs stood pledged by their word and by their hopes of popularity, to keep them to the mark. But by the last accounts, this advantage was departed.

In addition to these causes of discouragement, it was plain that the people had not joined, and

were not likely to be asked. The Sunderland election was evidence, and it was in fact distinctly avowed by the organs of the Whig party, that they had rather see parliament composed of the rankest Tories, than consent to the admission of an opponent of the corn laws who was tainted with the suspicion of opposing them in the interest of the working classes and of the people; the practical meaning of which was, that they would set up a Whig and bring in a Tory, wherever the case occurred. It is of no use to say, this was not the act of all. If twenty men are determined to blow up a ship's magazine, it will be as substantially effected as if two or three hundred more were in the plot. The Whigs practically declared war to the knife, against anybody who is under the stigma of being connected with Further Reform; and nothing is clearer than that the effects of this warfare will in the aggregate be felt.

Finally, there is the House of Lords. Slowly and through hard rubs, comes knowledge on all subjects, especially political. But no conclusion already booked is more stable, than that political influence is based on the calculation of the physical strength which would be found behind it;—not the mere strength which is estimated by the number of sinews, but the strength that is made up of possible sinews, directed by possible heads and possible interests, and all the other possibilities out of which power may be concocted. Thus the wisest National Assembly in the world, if it had not a hold on these sources of strength, would go for absolutely nothing in the shock of armed parties; and the trial of strength which, with more or less of completeness, accompanies the introduction of each individual member of a really influential assembly, may be considered as one main element of the aggregate influence of the whole. Now the Lords were once in possession of all power; but it has decreased, is decreasing, and will continue to be diminished. They stand somewhat in the position of superseded sovereigns in Asia; memorials of ancient power, and as such claiming a certain retrospective veneration, in addition to their present strength. But the compound, on the whole, is one best preserved by keeping in a band-box. It is ill calculated for contact with the rugged powers that found their right upon possession. Like an asthmatic boxer, every round leaves it with less chance of ultimate success; and there are all sorts of hostile interests lying by for the season when its weakness shall be proved. Besides this, the Lords do not shine in controversy; it is not their trade. Lords will do silly things; and other Lords cannot hinder them. For example, a peer of the realm has just "capped," as the betting phrase is, the celebrated *dictum* of the French princess, that the people might live on gingerbread. He has proposed that they should live on the ginger without the bread. For *curry powder* is ginger, with a modicum of cardamoms, and numerous other articles too numerous to mention. An Indian servant, when asked to show the materials, produces a collection as voluminous as might go to make the Mithridate; but not an atom upon which lord or commoner could support life for the fragment of an hour after the sauce was left to its own energies. The noble Lord is made to say, that "in India it was to the people what potatoes were in Ireland." Is sage and onion goose? And so the noble experimenter "bought a pound or two," and, "taking a pinch and putting it into hot water," thought he was swallowing what Sepoys live on. How sad that travel should be confined to the grand tour! What pity that legislation cannot be tried upon the legislators, before they proceed to make the people live on the mustard, and keep the beef themselves!

But, discouraging as much of this is, there has been one point gained which nothing can recall. Among them, they have, to use a sea figure, allowed the cable to run out at an enormous rate. While the public has been struggling for some little point of vantage, the combined powers have agreed to make a grand general declaration of the impossibility of ultimate resistance. In what does success consist, but in waiting to see what other people will do for us?

ANTI-SLAVERY MINSTRELS FROM AMERICA.

AN extract of a letter from Manchester will have points of interest, to those who take pleasure in seeing how in America, the blood of those of whom England was not worthy, struggles with the offspring of our negro-drivers on the question of Slavery.

"I must mention to you a family of American vocalists—the Hutchinsons—who have made their appearance in these parts; a programme of whose performances I send you. There are four brothers and a sister, farmer's children of New Hampshire, part of a family of thirteen. In the spring they put the seed in the ground, during summer go out to sing, and in autumn return to gather in the harvest. This year they determined to try their luck in England; and from the success already met with, I should think they will have no reason to regret it. The first thing that struck me was the good taste they displayed in the selection of their words, and in the next place, the excellent ear they have. Many of

their melodies, and, if I mistake not, the whole of their harmonies, are of their own composition; and there is an earnestness, as well as delicacy, in what they do, which is delightful. Their manners are simple, unaffected, and independent; as you may judge from an anecdote I gathered from an American paper. The notorious editor of the *New York Herald* told them, that if they sang one of their anti-slavery songs, a mob would rise upon them, and he knew sixty young men who had determined to fall upon them. 'But,' said one of them, 'we must sing the truth; if not, we will go home and dig potatoes.' The night came; the hall was filled; they came on, accompanied by their sister, and began the song. The tumult began; they persevered; by-and-by there was something like applause; and before the conclusion, they were received with cheers. They repeated the song, night after night, to audiences of three thousand people.

"Here and in the neighbouring towns, at the various institutions, their success has surpassed anything I remember; and they are engaged every night for this month. You must not expect a Malibran in the girl, who is only sixteen, nor a Duprez or a Lablache among the brothers; but simple harmony and ballad-singing in a style which catches hold of the popular feeling to a high degree. I have seen a whole Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute, consisting of clerks and the working men, with tears coursing down their noses most piteously. They are encoraged in almost everything they sing, and they have considerable comic humour, which, though upon local subjects principally, has caught hold of our Lancashire people most thoroughly. They come with excellent letters of character to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. George Thompson, as well as to myself."

Truly the hand that is not shortened, hath variety of instruments, and can make the fenced city fall before the voices of singing men and singing women, as well as before the battle and the storm. Every one who contributes to the reputation and success of these Anti-Slavery minstrels in England, may be considered as giving them the power of speaking to at least one more heart and conscience in their native land when they return.

GEMS OF DUCAL WISDOM.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge does not believe in the distress of the country.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington is, we are assured, the obstacle to the repeal of the Corn law.

His Grace the Duke of Rutland does not believe in the potato disease—considers them (the potatoes) relishing.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond does partially believe in the distress—suggests bringing potatoes from Portugal.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk has planted nine potatoes in a hot-house, and is watching them; recommends that the labouring classes be dieted on curry throughout the ensuing season.

This is what the ducal wisdom of England has done and suggested!

In good old Bourbon times a starving crowd Were once around the Louvre clamouring loud. A gentle princess heard the dismal cry, And asked its meaning of a courtier nigh. Quoth he, "The people cry for want of bread." "What silly folks," the gentle princess said, "For want of nasty common loaves to cry, "When half a franc such nice new cakes will buy."

An English Duke hears labourers bewail That bread is scarce, and that potatoes fail. "Cheer up," he says, "to starve you need not hurry, "When you may feast off water and a curry."

C. S. E.

RESIGNATION OF SIR R. PEEL AND HIS CABINET.

MINISTERIAL INTERREGNUM.

(From the *Times* of Friday.)

Sir Robert Peel has resigned, and Lord John Russell has been invited to form a new administration. Such is the sudden and strange event which has taken by surprise the whole political world; and such the verification, if not the fulfilment, of the intelligence which yesterday week astonished our readers. At that time, another conclusion of the controversies which had evidently long harassed the Cabinet was confidently and justly expected. Sir Robert Peel had then gained over to a total repeal of the corn laws all his colleagues except three or four, with whose co-operation, if report speaks true, he might very well have dispensed. He had just won the reluctant assent of the Duke of Wellington, and his promise to propose the measure in the Lords. It had, also, been settled to summon Parliament early in January for this purpose. Our readers then possessed an exact and literal transcript of the Ministerial state and intentions. We had not even omitted to notice the "insignificant and doubtful" exceptions to the general unanimity. Unless, indeed, it had been possible to tell, not only what was in men's minds, but also what might possibly enter into them, we are convinced that not even the Cabinet itself could have given a truer account of the state of affairs. Subsequently, however, to the date of our announcement, the Duke withdrew his assent, and joined the minority. The Premier then felt that it was not his place, or perhaps in his power, to carry the measure. On Saturday, accordingly, Sir R.

Peel informed the Queen of the difficulties in which he found himself, and tendered his resignation. Her Majesty, it is said, was pleased to express a great desire to retain his services, if it could possibly be so arranged. Sir Robert Peel could suggest no alternative, and the Queen summoned Lord John Russell to her councils. On Wednesday the whole ministry resigned, and is now only holding office till Lord John Russell has selected a government to supply its place.

Did we consult our own taste, we would not say a word in vindication of our announcement, which has ceased to be a matter of any importance now that the result is known. What we said was then perfectly true, and is, moreover, fulfilled in its most important feature, viz., the surrender of the corn laws by Sir Robert Peel and an immense majority of the cabinet. Of course no mortal man could foretell such a casualty as that the Duke of Wellington would change his mind. . . . The Duke, contrary to the rumours, which were all we had to depend upon yesterday, will not risk the existence of the Lords by raising them against the measure, or lift his own voice against it. Though he will not propose it on Sir Robert Peel's initiation, he will, we have reason to believe, offer no obstinate resistance to it on Lord John Russell's.

The *Journal des Débats*, a journal which is usually well informed on all subjects connected with English politics, says that the majority of the cabinet had agreed to modification of the corn laws, when their plans upon that head were destroyed by Lord John Russell's famous letter, which deprived the cabinet of all hope of support in favour of a partial modification. In proposing a partial measure, Sir Robert Peel would have had against him not only the Tories but the Whigs, and was sure to be left in a minority. He therefore determined on the total repeal, but could only get two members of his cabinet, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham, to join him, and he therefore was under the necessity of resigning.

Another and more startling reason for the breaking up of the cabinet is put forward by the *Patriot* of Monday, in the following terms:—

The *Times* was right. The real cause of the dissolution of the Peel cabinet has not yet transpired; but we have the means of throwing light upon this interesting question. The cabinet were unanimous in their determination to throw the *farmers* overboard—their only anxiety was to save the landlords. They were all but unanimous in proposing to accompany the abolition of the corn laws with a compensation to the landowners of *thirty millions*. To this proposal, Sir Robert Peel wisely demurred, thinking it better to throw the odium of such a proposal upon the Whigs. And hence the crisis. Englishmen, beware.

This view is somewhat countenanced by the tenor of Mr Cobden's remarks, at the City meeting, on Monday.

What has since actually occurred in connexion with the formation of a new ministry is soon told. Lord John Russell arrived in town on Wednesday night from Edinburgh, and on Thursday morning left for Osborne house without having seen any one, either of his late colleagues or of the late ministers. Her Majesty communicated to the noble Lord her wish that he should form a government, and authorised him to do so. Lord John Russell begged to be permitted to consult his late colleagues before definitely accepting the commission to carry her Majesty's commands into effect. The noble Lord arrived in town on Friday, and his late colleagues assembled at his residence shortly after. On his Lordship's arrival at his residence in Chesham place, Belgrave place, he was joined by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, Viscount Palmerston, Lord Cottenham, and the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay. Lord Normanby has been summoned from Italy, and most of the late colleagues of Lord John Russell have been summoned to town. On Saturday a second conference took place at Lord John Russell's residence, at which the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, and Viscount Palmerston, Lord Cottenham, the Duke of Bedford, and the Right Hon. F. T. Baring, were present. The Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord John Russell afterwards went to Windsor Castle, and after having an audience of the Queen returned to town. On Saturday evening Lord John Russell, together with the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Auckland, and other leading members of the Whig party, dined with Viscount Palmerston at his mansion on Carlton House Terrace.

On Sunday evening Lord John Russell again dined with Viscount Palmerston, several leading members of the Whig party being among those present. The Queen's messengers are in attendance on Lord John Russell.

Sir Robert Peel had interviews on Sunday with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, and the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert. The Right Hon. Baronet is in frequent communication with the Home Secretary. The Earl of Haddington has already made arrangements to vacate his official residence. The Duke of Buccleuch is among the ministers at present absent from town.

The only information contained in yesterday's papers is to the effect that very little, if any, actual progress was made by Lord John Russell on the previous day in the formation of his government. A meeting of the chief members of the Whig ministry was, however, to be held on Tuesday afternoon, at which it was probable that some definite conclusions would be arrived at. On Monday Lord J. Russell had interviews with the Earl of Auckland, the Earl of Clarendon, Viscount Palmerston, and a Danish merchant, Mr Macaulay, Mr Tuffnell, and several other gentlemen, at his residence in Chesham place.

In the course of the afternoon a Queen's messenger was despatched from the residence of Lord John Russell to Windsor castle. Earl Grey, Sir G. Grey, the Right Hon. E. Ellice, and the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, arrived in town on Monday, and were expected, along with the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and other noblemen, to attend the meeting at Lord John Russell's mansion in Chesham place, yesterday morning.

A meeting of several of the members of Sir Robert Peel's government was held on Tuesday, at the right hon. baronet's residence in Whitehall gardens. The Earl of Aberdeen, who had left town for Brighton on Saturday, was sent for to attend the meeting. The Earl of Lincoln, Sir James Graham, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, and several other gentlemen were present at the meeting. The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Haddington, Lord Wharncliffe, and Lord Granville Somerset, did not attend.

All rumours as to the constitution of the new ministry—if Lord John Russell indeed undertakes the task—are, of course, unfounded, but they serve to indicate the state of public feeling. The *Times*, of Friday, published the following list:—

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY—Lord John Russell.

LORD CHANCELLOR.—Lord Cottenham.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Lord Palmerston.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT—Lord Morpeth.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES—Lord Grey.

UNDER-SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES—Mr Charles Buller.

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—Mr Baring.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Sir T. Wilde.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL—Mr Dundas.

LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND—The Marquis of Normanby.

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL—The Marquis of Lansdowne.

AMBASSADOR AT PARIS—Lord Clarendon.

It will be observed that, in this list, the names of President and Vice-president of the Board of Trade are omitted. The appointments to these offices will, doubtless, be a severe test to the new Premier. Public opinion points to Mr Cobden, as the President of the Board of Trade, but it is doubtful whether Lord John will so far overcome his aristocratic scruples as to consent to such an appointment. Even the *Times*, no uncertain weathercock of public opinion, urges this point in unmistakable terms. In an article, on Friday, after saying that "the repeal of the corn laws is the measure of the people—the people propose it—the people are passing it, and it is a popular triumph. Lord John Russell has the honour of being, not in the least sense whatever the author of the measure, but the handiest, most opportune, most convenient, and most becoming instrument, viz., in the hands of the people—it goes on to say:—

If the Whigs condescend to use the opening which the people have given them, they must also condescend to follow its leading. In a peculiar sense they are now the representatives of the popular will. It is their boast to carry out the Reform bill. That bill gave a political existence to the manufacturing masses. It gave to the busy and populous north its just proportion in the state. The reform of the parliament involves a reform of the cabinet. The one is a function of the other; and there will be an endless collision till the man of the people is admitted to the secret councils of the Sovereign as well as to the public deliberations of the legislature.

We subjoin one or two of the current rumours of the day, leaving our readers to form their own impression of their authenticity:—

It is stated in the *Morning Post*, on the authority of a correspondent, that "Sir Robert Peel will be immediately created a peer by the titles of Baron Trent, Viscount Drayton, and Earl of Tamworth, and that in the House of Lords he will give his independent support to that measure, of the policy of which he has failed to convince his late colleagues."

As Lord John Russell was on his way from Edinburgh to London on Tuesday, in obedience to her Majesty's commands, he met at Normanton station Mr Cobden and Mr Bright, who were just halting there for a few minutes.

We believe that Sir R. Peel feels delighted at his freedom from the trammels of office, and from the disagreeables of the last twelve months. All the officials are busy in packing up the papers, and leaving a clear board for the new administration.—*Sun.*

CITY OF LONDON REPRESENTATION.—(From a Correspondent.)—Should the foundation of a new cabinet result in the dissolution of the present parliament, it is reported as extremely probable that Sir Robert Peel will be solicited by the free trade party in the city of London to allow himself to be placed in nomination, jointly with Lord John Russell, to represent that important constituency.—*Advertiser.*

Sir Denis le Marchant, secretary to the Treasury when the Melbourne administration went out of office, has been in constant communication with Lord John. He is acting as confidential amanuensis to the New Premier.

Notwithstanding those differences which rendered a dissolution of the cabinet unavoidable, there is not the slightest danger of any schism in the great Conservative party, or of any desertion from it. The whole of the cabinet retires without a shade of personal hostility among its members, or any difference of sentiment upon the proper policy, except upon the one question of a repeal, or rather modification, of the corn laws.—*Standard.*

LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW.—The Lord Provost of Glasgow

received, on Wednesday morning, a letter from Lord John Russell, presenting his compliments, and informing him that, being unexpectedly called to London by command of her Majesty, he could not receive the compliment that was intended for him by the corporation.—*Glasgow Argus.*

The *Morning Post* assigns the Presidentship of the Board of Trade to Mr Labouchere, and the Vice-presidentship to Mr Sheil!

Report says, that Sir Robert Peel's resignation was received by her Majesty without hesitation, although Sir Robert Peel's line of intended policy would have had her Majesty's warm support. Lord John Russell was at once sent for; but as the noble lord is at present in Edinburgh, some days must elapse before he can obey the summons. Parliament cannot now meet so early as was expected; and upon the course taken by Sir Robert Peel, will depend the prospect of a dissolution. It is believed that Sir Robert will support Lord John Russell in his general policy. The Premier was almost alone in his views in his own Cabinet.—*Sun.*

The *Morning Chronicle* denies the truth of a rumour that, previously to waiting upon her Majesty, Lord John Russell had an interview with Sir Robert Peel. The *Morning Herald* has also a paragraph to the same effect.

The *Morning Post* speaks of the ministerial resignation in the following violent terms:—

The Peel ministry is at an end. We are not among those who feel any regret at making this announcement. On the contrary, we say with the most perfect sincerity, that we are right glad of it. In our opinion—and it is not the first time we have said so—Sir Robert Peel has most shamefully deceived all who trusted him. His whole career, since 1842, has been one of insanity or treachery. We have done all in our power to expose him. He has not, since 1842, deceived us. We regard him as the most loathsome of public men. His abilities (which are unquestionable) only add to his odiousness. He prostitutes to the meanest purpose the talents which God has given to him. We hope there can now be no doubt of his joining the Whigs. That the Tories should ever again have anything to do with him, we cannot suppose. He has done them enough of mischief.

Many, we hear, even among the Whig party, doubt whether Lord John ought to accept office; or whether he ought not rather to leave to the Duke of Wellington the dubious task of "finishing his own work." Others think, that no Ministry could stand, or make any way, but one formed of the most efficient public men, without regard to party distinctions—a combination that would bear down all obstacles—a special ministry for the work of the time.—*Spectator.*

THE RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS AND THE MONEY MARKET.—The announcement that Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues had really resigned, for the reasons already stated, led to but a very slight alteration in the value of the public securities. But commercial operations were almost entirely suspended. On Thursday, prices were nearly one per cent. lower than on the preceding day. Subsequently, however, when it was reported that Lord John Russell had been sent for, there was an improved feeling in the market, and at the termination of business prices were not more than 4 per cent. lower than on Wednesday afternoon. By Saturday, however, consols had receded below 92. Should a general election be rendered inevitable in February or March, a severe blow will be struck to the injury of trade. On Monday (says the *Times*), a considerable advance in the value of the public securities occurred, on the impression that Lord John Russell will be unable to carry on the executive of the country.

THE CORN TRADE AND THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.—Though nothing has transpired to lead to the opinion that the defective nature of the yield and quality of the wheat crop has been at all exaggerated, and the potato failure is on all hands allowed to be nearly, if not quite, as serious as was at any time apprehended, so great a change has been worked in the feelings of holders of grain within the last fortnight by political events, that all parties have shown a determination to force sales; the consequence of which has been a serious depreciation in the value of the article. At most of the leading provincial markets the trade has been perfectly paralysed; and, with every disposition on the part of sellers to facilitate business, they have found it impossible to induce purchasers to buy largely. At Liverpool on Friday it was literally impossible to effect sales to any extent. From many of the other large consuming towns the reports are equally dull, and at several of the markets in the agricultural districts (including the chief shipping ports of the east coast), the decline in the value of wheat has amounted to 4s. per quarter. Whether the existing law remains in force, a fixed duty be substituted, or the import of wheat be permitted free, under none of these circumstances can we calculate on a very large supply of this article from foreign countries until another harvest shall have been secured.—*Mark Lane Express.*

METROPOLITAN DRAPERS' ASSOCIATION.—A *soirée* in aid of the fund of £5,000, proposed to be raised in order to circulate information on the evils of late hours of business, with a view to effect a more general early closing of shops, was held on Friday night, at the Cadogan Institution, Sloane street, Chelsea. S. C. Hall, Esq., F.S.A., presided. He was supported by Dr Burgess, Dr Morrison, Mr Newell, Mr Woolmer, &c. Sentiments expressive of the importance of early hours to the healthful and moral condition of this numerous body of young men were unanimously agreed to, and the meeting separated.

Foreign Intelligence.

AMERICA.

The Hottinguer brings advices from New York, to the 21st ult. The purchase of California by the United States, in the course of the negotiation about to be opened with Mexico, is openly urged in the papers. With regard to the Oregon question, our advices, says the *Times*, reiterate the opinion we have formerly expressed, that President Polk would renew in his message the language of his inaugural address, asserting the title of the United States to the disputed territory to be "clear and unquestionable," and recommending that the territorial laws of the United States should be extended over the American citizens within its limits, and also the formation of a military road across the Rocky Mountains. The *Washington Union*, of the 17th ult., returns again to the discussion of this topic, and in a measure confirms our views. It was believed that Mr Calhoun had agreed to re-enter the senate; and the whole power of his influence would, it was believed, be brought to bear against the dangerous use made of the Oregon question by Mr Polk and his organ. Several members of Congress had already assembled at Washington.

Canadian advices are destitute of interest. Rumour had hinted that Lord Metcalf had resigned the governor-generalship; but the fact was believed to be otherwise.

The Britannia, with the North American mails of the 1st inst. (and probably the President's message), is now fully due. The losses by the great fire at New York had been ascertained to amount to upwards of 7,000,000 dollars.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

FRENCH ATROCITIES IN ALGIERS.—The Paris papers continue to report most sanguinary achievements by Marshal Bugeaud. In one day, according to a narrative in the *National*, fifty Arab prisoners were shot in cold blood; thirteen villages were razed to the ground; and part of a tribe were destroyed in a cave, under circumstances precisely similar to those of Colonel Pelissier's Dahra massacre. General Bourjilly boasts, in an official letter, that he continues "to root out the population, and kill without mercy every man that falls into his power." Nor are these barbarities effectual in suppressing revolt, if we may trust the *Reforme*:

"Each mail from Africa brings fresh proofs of the incapacity of Governor-general Bugeaud. Whilst the Marshal was slowly moving in the south-west of the province of Algiers, and marching and counter-marching during thirty-four days, without any result, Abd-el-Kader left the subdivision of Tlemcen; traversed the whole province of Oran; passed repeatedly within a few leagues of Marshal Bugeaud, who believed him to have re-entered Morocco; reached Tiaret the moment the latter evacuated the place; crossed the mountains of Matmata, whilst Marshal Bugeaud was amusing himself by measuring their altitude; and then, by a bold and decisive manœuvre, resolutely advanced towards the south-east to invade the province of Constantine; leaving far behind him Algiers, Marshal Bugeaud, and our columns, which he most skilfully turned and avoided. To give an idea of his boldness, we need only observe that he is now upwards of a hundred leagues distant from the point at which he entered our territory."

It was deemed probable in Paris, that ministers would recall the Marshal because of the very awkward situation in which his administration had placed the French in Africa.

ANTICIPATED ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.—Mount Vesuvius has for some time been sending forth large volumes of smoke, accompanied occasionally by flames and red-hot ashes, threatening an eruption. It appears, however, by letter from Naples, that this does not deter foreigners from ascending the mountain even to the verge of the crater. Among them has been Prince Albert of Prussia, who was struck by one of the burning cinders, and had part of his coat burnt, but happily sustained no other harm.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA AND THE LONG-PROMISED CONSTITUTION.—The *Siecle*, in a long article on this subject, says that the question of the constitution is still pending in Prussia, and that Frederick William IV. is incessantly occupied in remodeling, correcting, and transforming the plans that are presented to him, without losing sight a single moment of this great work, which must render his reign illustrious, and increase the preponderance of his state. We trust, for the sake of tranquillity in Germany, the old fable, *Parturunt montes, &c.*, is not about to be realised.

NICHOLAS AND THE POPE.—The *Frankfort Journal* states, that the differences between the court of St Petersburg and that of Rome have been arranged, and that Russia will, in future, strenuously avoid all harsh measures against the Roman Catholic church, whilst the Holy See is to take care that the Catholic church shall not interfere in any movements against the state.

GREECE.—General Coletti has got rid of his Chambers, and thus remains, like Narvacz, according to the French phrase, "master of the situation." He got rid of his parliament in time, for though the lower Chamber was packed under his particular direction, and all Liberals of talent or eminence who chanced to be returned, were turned out of it mercilessly by the election committees; nevertheless, this very knot of his creatures refused latterly to sanction Coletti's baseness or caprices. An opposition had sprung up; and, though a minority, was an increasing one. What it wanted in votes and numbers too, was supplied to it by the public sympathy, and by that of the press. The very Senate, too, though

carefully chosen, rejected several ministerial laws, one especially, for disarming citizens.

The *Prague Gazette*, in announcing the death of M. Ledekauer, an Israelite merchant, at the age of seventy-one, states, that about fifty years ago he arrived in that city on foot, without money; but, by force of industry and economy, had since acquired a fortune of nearly 6,000,000f., the greater part of which he has bequeathed for the encouragement of the arts and sciences, and commerce and manufactures, and for the relief of the unfortunate of all nations. About 2,500,000f. have fallen to the benevolent institutions of the principal towns of Bohemia.

MORE SAMPLES OF JAMAICA TAXATION.—The house-tax is levied on every inmate. Thus, if the rent of a house is five pounds a year, the tax two shillings in the pound, and the number of inmates ten (a man and his wife, six children, and the grand-parents of the husband), the tax is demanded of every individual, and also amounts to five pounds!

THE LEADER OF THE NEW ZEALAND NATIVES.—The *Journal des Debats* gives the following description of Heki, the leader of the insurgents in New Zealand:—"It appears that Heki is not inferior to his position, and that he is a man really remarkable, considering the degree of civilisation to which he has attained. He has distinct ideas of natural law, and he does not therefore contest the rights of the English to cultivate the land which they really purchased from the natives, but he will not recognise their sovereignty, and denies their right to hoist their flag. He will not acknowledge the treaty of cession formerly concluded between some chiefs and the British governor, because he asserts that it was extorted by fear or by corruption from persons who were absolutely ignorant of the bearing of their acts. Heki, it is said, practises the precepts of Christianity as taught him. What is most curious is the use which he makes against the English of the Bible which they taught him. He combats them with their own weapons. He uses the Scriptures as a two-edged sword, and when they argue with him he replies with scriptural texts. He often repeats that the English are like Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and that the Zealanders are the oppressed Israelites. Heki is possessed of a noble and chivalrous disposition, and the English have admitted that on many occasions he spared his prisoners."

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—The papers announce the death of Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, who died only five hours distant from Cairo, on the desert. He was accompanied by his lady and daughter. He died of an apoplectic fit.

POMARE IN EXILE.—The following is an extract from a letter received from Sydney:—"Poor Pomare is at Raiatea, destitute of clothes and money and comfort. Mr Barff wrote me, that he was about to make up a parcel of necessaries for her."

DEATH THROUGH AN EXTRAORDINARY GROWTH OF TEETH.—On Thursday night, Mr Bedford held an inquest at Mr Woller's, the White Hart, Clement's lane, on the body of Frederick Jordan, an infant not a month old, the son of Mr Jordan, a hair-dresser, of 50, Clement's lane. It appeared from the statement of Hannah Jordan, the mother of the deceased, that he was in good health when put to bed on the previous evening, and that upon awaking in the morning she found the child dead. Mr Lovett, a surgeon, deposed that on opening the mouth of the deceased he found to his surprise two teeth of the full size, which had evidently been forced through by the little sufferer whilst in a state of convulsion, and which in his opinion was the cause of death. He further observed that he had never seen or heard of a child at so young an age having two teeth. Verdict, "Died in a convulsive fit, caused by the sudden growth of teeth."—*Morning Post*.

DEATH FROM REPLETION.—On Wednesday, Mr Wakley held an inquest at the Coach and Horses, Clerkenwell, on the body of an infant, aged 15 months. From the evidence of the deceased's parent (named Farnham) it appeared that her infant, who was a very strong and exceedingly fiery-tempered baby, was being fed with sago, when it devoured its food so ravenously that it was surfeited and died, although medical assistance was promptly procured. The jury returned a verdict of "Natural death."

LEGAL OPINION ON RAILWAY LIABILITIES.—The daily papers have published a joint opinion of the Solicitor-general and Mr Pitt Taylor, as to the amount of liability incurred by parties who have had shares in railway schemes allotted on their own applications. The opinion is, in substance, that, under each of the usual forms of application and allotment, the parties applying and receiving have entered into legal contracts with the promoters of the schemes; but then comes the really important part of the opinion, which is in the following terms:—

Many great practical and technical difficulties would surround and impede any attempt to enforce the contract, either at law or in equity. At law every contracting party must be a co-plaintiff, and who are the contracting parties, or plaintiffs, must in each case depend upon the prospectus and advertisements, and other matters preceding and attending the contract. In equity, too, the plaintiffs must name in their bill for specific performance all the persons with whom the defendant has contracted to enter into partnership, and must further allege and prove that all such persons are ready and willing to become his co-partners. Many other difficulties must also arise, whichever course be adopted, and we cannot see how either could be ultimately successful."

The result of the opinion, therefore, is, that parties receiving allotments of shares under the circumstances named have made contracts which cannot be enforced, either at law or in equity.

IRELAND.

THE RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

Never, perhaps, did the fall of a ministry produce so little sympathy or regret as the dissolution of the Peel cabinet. That administration possessed neither party nor friends in Ireland out of the little circle of place holders and place hunters. Many of the latter, no doubt, are deeply mortified; but the mass of the public, whether Orange or Repeal, Liberal or Tory, either rejoice or are indifferent at the break-up of the Peel government.

The Orange organ, the *Dublin Evening Mail*, thus announces the event, and describes the effect upon the Orange and Tory party:—

"The sensation produced here is one of universal joy at having got rid of Sir Robert Peel, and each Protestant congratulates his fellow, as though some glorious victory had been achieved. Our own opinion is, that if this resignation has taken place—and our readers are in equally a good position with ourselves to form an opinion—it has been done for a vile purpose, that it is a disreputable trick, and is only intended as a means towards an end; that end having for its object coalition between Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, with a view of repealing the corn laws, and of inflicting another heavy blow upon the Protestants of these countries."

As for the Repealers, it is but due to their consistency to state that the advent of Whiggery and Lord John Russell to place and power has been received in sullen silence, amounting almost to positive discontent.

Instead of regretting the fall of Sir Robert Peel, or thinking of any measure for his re-instatement (says the correspondent of the *Times*), the general feeling here among all respectable men is, that advantage should be taken of the present opportunity to make an effort towards the establishment of an independent Irish party. This, it is urged, should consist of persons heretofore members of opposing parties, who now feel that it is high time to unite for the purpose of preventing the subversion of society that Sir Robert Peel's subsidization policy has commenced, and the progress of which cannot now be stayed but by a strong hand. . . . Men say there can be no doubt that any ministry, Whig or Tory, that would restore tranquillity and give security for life and property, would be supported both as a matter of inclination and duty by such men as the Dukes of Manchester and Leinster; the Earls of Claremont, Roden, and Glengall; Mr Fitzstephen French, Mr George Alexander Hamilton, Mr Wyse, Mr Redington, the O'Connor Don, and many others. Such speculations as these now occupy men's minds instead of conjectures as to the result of a general election.

The formal resignations of the Lord-Lieutenant, the chief and under-secretaries, were, on Saturday, forwarded to her Majesty, and those of the law officers of the Crown will immediately follow.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—The northern division of Tipperary is daily becoming more disorganised by agrarian combinations. The accounts received during the past week have been truly disheartening, and show a daring and desperation on the part of the persons engaged in those confederacies which prove how deeply-seated is the source of evil in the social system. There appears to be a total alienation between the owners and occupiers of the soil; and the law is altogether paralysed. The landlords of the south have, many of them, improved their system, and the southern riding has ceased to be the scene of constant violence and outrage. The Limerick papers of Saturday publish an alarming catalogue of agrarian outrages committed within the last week in that and the adjoining county of Clare.

EXTRAORDINARY HIGH TIDE IN THE THAMES AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.—The Thames was swollen on the night of Thursday and Friday morning by the highest tide that has been known for the last twenty-five years; and the destruction of much water-side property has been the consequence. The Commercial road, Lambeth, and the Belvidere road, were under water to the depth of several feet; and other places were similarly flooded. The goods premises of the South Western Railway Company were all under water; Battersea marshes reassumed their ancient aspect as one wide lake; many embankment walls were thrown down; cellars and the lower parts of houses were flooded, and several persons narrowly escaped from drowning. Romain, a policeman, of the 1st division, who was on duty in the Belvidere road, has informed the reporter that, while he was passing the end of College street, shortly before one, he heard the rushing of water towards him, and, on looking to the water side, he perceived the tide coming towards him with fearful velocity. In that locality a great number of poor people reside in the kitchens; he accordingly proceeded to alarm the inmates, and, in two instances, he had to force open the doors before he could make them hear, and, had he not done so, a family of eight persons would have been sacrificed.—The Medway was swollen on the same night, with the like destructive effects. At Chatham several wharfs were covered with water; and the country towards Sheerness has assumed the appearance of a vast lake.—At Ostend, on the same day, so high was the tide, that the keels of some of the shipping were on a level with the quay, along which Warwick Tavern, the Hope, and several houses near the site for a new fish-market, continued to be partially under water till three o'clock on Friday morning.

PACIFIC RELATIONS WITH AMERICA.

In a letter to the *Nottingham Review*, Mr William Cripps, of that town, who has lately visited the western states of America, mentions the following facts to show the beneficial influence which the abolition of the corn laws would have on the preservation of peace between this country and the United States of America:—

Two months ago I was traveling through a large portion of the western states, including Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri. I found everywhere, and among all classes, a strong feeling as to the right of the United States to Oregon, and a determination to possess it. These, be it remembered, are the states which give to Mr Polk his majority. I was much astonished and grieved to witness the bad state of feeling which exists there among a large portion of the people with regard to Great Britain, and the recklessness with which they talk about war. The fact is, sirs, that unlike the cities on the Atlantic, or the cotton and tobacco growing states of the south, they have no dealings with us, or scarcely any, which are not rendered uncertain, annoying, and unprofitable, by the operation of our wretched system of corn laws. The small farmers throughout this fertile and, comparatively, uncultivated region, want a steady market for their produce, and this our law absolutely forbids. Can we wonder that, with their superabundance of food, which they know we want, and their lack of clothing and other comforts, which they know we can supply, they should be easily led to join in a war cry against a government which forbids the interchange, so obviously beneficial to both?

I traveled, in the months of September and October, through many hundreds of miles of prairie lands, and saw much of the condition, the habits, and feelings of these people. On going from Chicago (a thriving port on the southern point of Lake Michigan) to Springfield, capital of the state of Illinois, we met vast numbers of wagons, each drawn by four or six oxen, driven by their owners, who were thus conveying to Chicago a portion of their surplus produce. Two men would frequently accompany one of these wagons, and there were from four to a dozen of them in company. This, however, gives no idea at all of the numbers that are thus employed at some seasons. An English friend, who has resided several years at Chicago, informed me that he has frequently known seven hundred, and sometimes as many as a thousand of these wagons to arrive there in the course of a few days. I exchanged a few words with many of these people, as we met on the road, and I found that they were bringing each about forty to sixty bushels of wheat, which over such roads as they had to travel, would be about as much as their oxen and wagons were fitted to convey. The distance of their farms from Chicago, varied from ninety to one hundred and fifty miles. With what eagerness did these men inquire "What is the price of wheat?" It was then fifty cents (about 2s.) a bushel; it had been higher, but news had just arrived that there had been ten days of fine weather in England, and consequently the operations of merchants for this market had ceased. The averages were likely to go down, the duty to go up, and altogether there was so much hazard in the trade, that every one was afraid to purchase. Can you wonder that these poor men cursed our laws, and willingly joined the demagogue who was ever ready to excite the war, and to call out for a "march to Oregon."

Now, sirs, imagine for a moment that the corn laws were abolished; the inevitable and immediate effect would be to give to these men a steady market and better price. . . . No demagogue could hereafter obtain the votes of these people for "Polk and Oregon"—their cry henceforth would be for "Peace and plenty," "Peace and good trade with Old England."

SUICIDAL SYMPATHY.—On Saturday morning last, a young girl, named Sarah Tomlinson, a servant belonging to Mr Parton, retail brewer, of Liverpool street, Birmingham, put an end to her existence by hanging herself from the rail of her bedstead. Shortly after the discovery of the unfortunate girl, and while the neighbourhood was in a state of considerable excitement about her unhappy fate, an elderly woman, named Mary Mallard, who lived in the yard adjoining that in which Tomlinson had destroyed herself, very deliberately procured a cord, and, as if under the influence of some suicidal sympathy, suspended herself from the staircase of her house. Her daughter, however, fortunately entered the place at the moment, and cut her down before life was extinct.

REFUSING AN OATH.—At a meeting of the Dunfermline council, for the purpose of swearing in the new members, James Inglis, Esq., said, that as he was now an old man, he was anything but anxious to have a seat among them; that he had not given an oath for many years; and could not, from the views he conscientiously entertained, give any oath; and that if swearing was indispensable to his being a councillor, he would never fill that office. Provost Ronaldson said, that he (Mr James Inglis) was neither a Quaker nor a Separatist; and that, by the law of the land, he could not retain his seat as a councillor without taking the oath. The Provost's motion was carried by two of a majority. Mr Inglis then took his hat, and was walking out of the room, when a councillor, who voted with the Provost, said that he would not be allowed to go out; and others expressed themselves to the same effect, undoing their resolution; and Mr Inglis keeps his seat.—*Glasgow Examiner.*

HER MAJESTY AND PRINCE ALBERT returned from Osborne house to Windsor castle on Saturday morning. This arrangement took place in consequence of the ministerial crisis which rendered it important the Queen should be in frequent and speedy communication with her political advisers.

WHO IS THE ENEMY?—All the military barracks in England are being replenished with fresh stores. At Weedon, the great central depot, forty thousand stand of arms are about to be planted, and every magazine filled with powder, cartridge, and ball.—*Birmingham Pilot.*

FEARFUL STEAM-BOAT COLLISION ON THE RIVER.

At ten minutes to five o'clock on Saturday evening, as the Emerald, Diamond steam-packet, was, after touching at Greenhithe, proceeding on her way from London to Gravesend, her captain (J. Pindar) observed a large steam-vessel directly ahead of him, coming up the river. As she approached, he and his men in the bow of the Emerald sung out, but the steamer kept in the same track. Captain Pindar's order to port the helm had scarcely been obeyed when the Emerald was struck on the larboard quarter by the bow of the other vessel (which subsequently turned out to be the John Bull, Hamburg packet). The paddle-box and quarter of the Emerald were stove in, and the funnel was cast down with a tremendous crash, producing a shock throughout the vessel, which, in the after cabin, where the writer of this notice was at the moment, flung the passengers from their seats, and tumbled over and amongst them the tables and everything thereon. The confusion and dismay which followed is indescribable. A rush was made to the cabin door, but the passage was stopped by all attempting to force their way up the stairs to the deck. A cry of "Bring up the women, bring up the women!" from the deck, added to the alarm and confusion; but at length, owing to the self-possession of some of the gentlemen, and a few of the ladies who made way and held back, the whole of the cabin passengers were on deck in a minute and half after the collision took place. Then the scene was terrific; the Emerald was believed to be going down. The John Bull's bow was apparently wedged into the larboard quarter, and the bowsprit of that vessel over the foredeck of the Emerald. This was endeavoured to be reached by several of the male passengers of the latter by means of the rigging. Some succeeded in getting into the John Bull in this way, and more clambered up her bows. At this time both vessels had let off their steam, and drifting down with the tide in their state of entanglement, came athwart the bow of a brig that lay at anchor nearly opposite Grays, but close to the Kentish shore. The collision with the brig increased the danger of the steamers, particularly the Emerald, whose deck larboard cabins were stove in by the brig's bowsprit, which broke off in the collision, and her fore topmast fell forward with all its gear, breaking in its fall the right arm of one and the left arm of another gentleman on the deck of the Emerald, both of whom, as it would seem, attempted to get into the brig when the vessels came in contact. The three vessels were now entangled together, and the alarm on board each was, perhaps, equal. At length the John Bull fell off from the Emerald, whose anchor had now been dropped, and the Railway steamer, from Blackwall to Gravesend, came alongside the brig, and the passengers of the Emerald, except those who got on board the John Bull, were taken off by her, and landed at Gravesend. Two men, in the first shock of the collision, were thrown overboard, but were picked up safely. Each party blames the other for the collision. The Emerald was not, it is said, in her proper tack with a going-down tide; and on the other hand, it is averred that the John Bull was not only not on the proper side of the river, going up with a down tide, but that she had no lights up. That she had no lights up was certain, but the night was moonlight, and there was no fog, and each vessel could, undoubtedly, with proper management, have avoided the other. The whole number of passengers on board the Emerald at the time of the collision was about 120.

It appears that the John Bull, which left Hamburg on Tuesday last, only reached the Thames after a voyage of most imminent peril. At the mouth of the Elbe she was encountered by a fearful storm, and lost her three boats, paddle boxes, and bulwarks; to add to her unfortunate situation her deck was encumbered by eighteen bullocks, fifteen of which were washed away by the sea, or thrown overboard to lighten the vessel.

AN EXAMPLE.—The Great Western Railway Company have very recently provided baths, at one halfpenny, for their numerous servants and workmen at the Swindon station. On the first Saturday after the opening, fifteen thousand gallons of water were supplied to the baths, which were in constant use throughout the day. A laundry is in progress, and will shortly be opened by the company.

MR VINCENT has been delivering lectures during the past week on the subject of temperance at Dumbarton, Newton, Mearns, and Greenock, to large and respectable audiences. At the former place, Bailie M'Neil presided. The pressure upon our space this week prevents us giving further details of these meetings.

NORFOLK CURRY.—Take a duke, no matter how foolish, but the fatter the better, stew him down with "peppers, and a variety of things of that description," and serve him up as the principal dish at an agricultural meeting—any fool can eat him up. This is a very warm dish to the stomach; "if not palatable at first," wash it down with a glass or two of milk punch.—*Hannah Glasse.*

MORE CLERICAL DELINQUENTS.—At the Arches court, on Friday, Sir H. Jenner Fust pronounced sentence of deprivation from office against "the Reverend" Mr Heathcote, who had been convicted of an attempt at crime. At the same sitting, "the Reverend" Mr Loftus, Vicar of St Martin Fincham, whose trial for immoral offences excited considerable scandal, was sentenced to deprivation of all his perfections, with costs; time being allowed to appeal.

EVERYBODY'S COLUMN.

FRENCH CONVENTS.—There are 620,000 girls at this moment receiving education in French convents.

There is an instrument lately invented called an "Orientor," to assist Anglo-Catholics in discovering the east: so that they may be able to say their prayers in the right direction, wherever they may be.

Some person who had nothing else to do, has ascertained that there are 550,000 grains in a bushel of wheat, 520,000 in barley, 1,260,000 in oats, and 37,000 in horse-beans.—*New York Gazette.*

POSTAGE CONUNDRUMS.—Why is a postage stamp like a letter when you have done with it? Because it is red (read).—Why is a postage stamp like a man's mouth? Because there's saliva on the gum.—Why should authors especially be attached to the Queen? Because she has given freedom to letters by her countenance.

SOMETHING WORTH KNOWING ABOUT INK.—The *New York Tribune* states that account-books, cheques, and other manuscripts belonging to Croker and Warren, contained in an iron safe, have been recovered, having suffered no further injury from the late great fire than the total erasure of all the entries made in blue ink, while those made in black ink were uniformly legible.

Laziness grows on people: it begins in cobwebs, and ends in iron chains. The more business a man has, the more he is able to accomplish; for he learns to economise his time.—*Hale.*

LIKewise and Also.—Mr J. once objected to the competency of a witness, alleging that he was *non compos*. The court granted leave to test the matter. "Can you tell me, my friend, the difference between *likewise* and *also*?"—"May be as 'ou I ea," replied the witness. "Go on, sir; let us hear."—"Well, you see az 'ou Colonel P. is a lawyer." "Very well," said the counsel. "And you is a lawyer also."—"Very well." "Colonel P. is *likewise* a gentleman."—"Very well." "But you is not *likewise*." The lawyer was dumb.

TAPIOCA.—We believe that a greater quantity of this very nutritious article of domestic use is at present saleable in Liverpool than at any former time. If there should be the apprehended scarcity in potatoes, there are few more wholesome esculents as a substitute than tapioca, and certainly there are none which can be procured at so cheap a rate. The quantity of excellent food obtainable from a pound weight of the article is amply sufficient for the breakfast or dinner of a tolerably-sized family. We anticipate the time when it will be sold as freely in grocers' shops as tea, sugar, or rice.—*Liverpool Courier.*

NEW AND ECONOMIC MODE OF GENERATING STEAM.—A French engineer, M. Leonard, now in London, has discovered an exceedingly simple means of curtailing the quantity of coal hitherto required in the generation of steam. His principle, for which he has taken out a patent, is that of putting whale or other fish oil into the boiler, unmixed, or with more or less water. When the oil is at a temperature producing steam, water is thrown in, and steam is produced as fast as required by the machine, without the oil passing off in vapour, or decomposing. Various experiments have been made, and the saving in fuel is stated at from forty to fifty per cent.—*The Builder.*

A CURE FOR BURNS AND SCALDS.—In the last number of the *Medical Times* there is an article on the efficacy of the yeast of beer for the cure of burns. Dr Szerleki has, it is stated, used it frequently in his private practice, and points it out as the most simple and efficacious method possessed by medicine to counteract the effect of burns. His mode of applying it is to spread a rather thick layer of yeast on cloth, sufficient to cover the whole of the burnt surface, the application to be renewed as soon as it becomes dry. He declares that the action of this medicine is much more efficacious if resorted to immediately after the accident. Another excellent remedy is noticed in that journal some months since: it consists in the application of a single layer of lint soaked in a solution of carbonate of soda. The lint should be kept wet, and the pain will be quickly relieved.

CO-OPERATION OF THE WIFE.—No man ever prospered in the world without the co-operation of his wife. If she unites in mutual endeavours or rewards his labour with an endearing smile, with what confidence will he resort to his merchandise or his farm; fly over lands; sail upon the seas; meet difficulty and encounter danger; if he knows he is not spending his strength in vain, but that his labour will be rewarded by the sweets of home! Solitude and disappointments enter the history of every man's life; and he is but half provided for his voyage, who finds but an associate for happy hours, while for his months of darkness and distress no sympathising partner is prepared!

THE BRAZILIAN PIRATES.—The *Sun* says, "We understand that the division of the judges in the Brazilian pirates' case was, eleven against the conviction, and two for it. Mr Baron Platt was himself one of the two, and Mr Baron Alderson the other. Mr Justice Coleridge and Mr Justice Cresswell did not sit."

On Wednesday morning last, for the first time this season, the mountains in the neighbourhood of Risca were partially covered with snow. A few miles further up, the whole country was covered with its winter garb, which is considered to be rather early.—*Monmouthshire Merlin.*

THE SECRET OF WARM FEET.—Many of the colds which people are said to catch commence at the feet. To keep those extremities constantly warm, therefore, is to effect an insurance against the almost interminable list of disorders which spring out of a "slight cold." Firstly, never be tightly shod. Boots or shoes, when they fit closely, press against the sole of the foot, and prevent the free circulation of the blood. When, on the contrary, they do not embrace the foot too tightly, the blood gets fair play, and the spaces left between the leather and the stocking are filled with a comfortable supply of warm air. The second rule is—Never sit in damp shoes. It is often imagined that, unless they be positively wet, it is not necessary to change them while the feet are at rest. This is a fallacy; for, when the least dampness is absorbed into the sole, it is attracted further to the foot itself by its own heat, and thus perspiration is dangerously checked. Any person may prove this by trying the experiment of neglecting the rule, and his feet will become cold and damp after a few minutes, although, on taking off the shoe and examining it, it will appear quite dry.

THE FOOD OF MAN.—The *Genesee Farmer* gives this brief summary of the native country of our most familiar plants:—"The potato is a native of South America, and is still found wild in Chili, Peru, and Monte Video. In its native state the root is small and bitter. The first mention of it by European writers is in 1588. It is now spread over the world. Wheat and rye originated in Tartary and Siberia, where they are still indigenous. The only country where the oat is found wild is in Abyssinia, and thence may be considered a native. Maize or Indian corn is a native of Mexico, and was unknown in Europe until after the discoveries of Columbus. The bread-fruit tree is a native of the South Sea Islands, particularly Otaheite. Tea is found a native nowhere, except in China and Japan, from which countries it is supplied. The cocoa nut is a native of most equinoctial countries, and is one of the most valuable trees, as food, clothing, and shelter are afforded by it. Coffee is a native of Arabia Felix, but is now spread into both the East and West Indies. The best coffee is brought from Mocha, in Arabia, whence about fourteen millions of pounds are annually exported. St Domingo furnishes from sixty to seventy millions of pounds yearly. All the varieties of the apple are derived from the crab apple, which is found a native in most parts of the world. The peach is derived from Persia, where it still grows in native state—small, bitter, and with poisonous qualities. Asparagus was brought from Asia; cabbage and lettuce from Holland; horse-radish from China; rice from Ethiopia; beans from the East Indies; and garlics are natives of various places both in Asia and Africa. The sugar cane is a native of China, and the art of making sugar comes from there also."

BIRTHS.

Dec. 9, Mrs HENRY BRADEN, of a son.
Dec. 8, the wife of Mr IVES, of No. 14, Paternoster row, of a daughter.
Dec. 10, at Evergreen, Cork, the lady of Mr Geo. N. WATSON, Baptist minister, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 30, at the Independent chapel, Ramsgate, Mr W. Leask, Independent minister, of Dover, Mr W. L. WHITTAKER to Miss MARIA SILK, both of Ramsgate.
Dec. 2, at the Association chapel, Redruth, Mr JAMES HENRY DOBSON, of Devonport, son of the late Mr James Dobson, Independent minister, of Chishill, Essex, and brother of Mr Joseph Dobson, Independent minister, of London, to DORA, the only daughter of Mr Joseph SPASSHATT, Baptist minister, of Redruth.
Dec. 4, at the Independent chapel, Harpurhey, Manchester, by Mr R. Fletcher, minister, Mr EDWARD MOORE, to Miss SARAH WOOD, only daughter of the Rev. J. Wood, of the above place.
Dec. 8, at the Independent chapel, Grantham, by Mr J. Barfett, minister, Mr JAMES GRAHAM, nurseryman, to Miss SOPHIA ELIZABETH SHERMAN, both of Grantham.

Dec. 8, at the Baptist chapel, Lockery, near Romsey, Hants, by Mr N. T. Burnett, minister, Mr JOSIAH, third son of Mr George GRANT, of the Manor farm, Sherfield English, to Miss CAROLINE HARLETT, of Whiteparish, Wilts.

Dec. 11, in the Friends' meeting-house, North Shields, THOMAS PUMPHREY, of Ackworth, Yorkshire, to ISABEL UNTHAN, of the former place.

DEATHS.

Dec. 7, at Upper Tulse hill, ELIZABETH PIERCE, widow of the late Mr Samuel Eyles Pearce, minister of the gospel, of Shoe lane and Brixton, Surrey.
Dec. 7, at Chichester, the infant son of Mr J. C. CANE, Independent minister, Bognor.
Dec. 10, at Handsworth, aged 35, after a severe and protracted illness, borne with great fortitude and patience, Mr WILLIAM BOYLE, youngest son of the late Robert Boyle, Esq., M.A., of Smethwick soap works.
Dec. 10, at the residence of her son, Mr S. J. Nash, of Homer-ton, Mrs NASH, of Foulmere, Cambridgeshire, aged 61.
Dec. 10, at Uxbridge, JENNY HULL, relief of the late William Hull, of the same place, in the 75th year of her age.
Dec. 14, in the 32nd year of her age, SOPHIA, the beloved wife of Mr H. BRADEN, and daughter of Mr W. Paxon, of Gray's-inn terrace. Her end was peace.
Dec. 15, at Ipswich, after a few days' illness, borne with much patience and resignation, LYDIA ATKINSON, youngest daughter of the late Mr Daniel Poole GODDARD, aged 13 years.

Dec. 15, at the Vicarage house, Leicester, Mr JOHN BROWN, M.A., vicar of St Mary's, Leicester. An evangelical clergyman—a useful man; his death is deeply lamented.

Trade and Commerce.

Friday, December 12.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Wesleyan Methodist chapel, Blackburn, Lancashire.

Baptist chapel, Bilston, Staffordshire.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

FRANCIS, HENRY, Feock, Cornwall, agent.
SIMPSON, THOMAS, Stourbridge, Worcestershire, livery-stable keeper.

GREENSTOCK, GEORGE, Weston-super-Mare, Somersetshire, ironmonger.

WOOD, CONSTANTINE, formerly of Ryde, Isle of Wight, hotel keeper.

BANKRUPTCIES.

BUCKLEY, RALPH, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, woollen cloth manufacturer, Dec. 23, Jan. 15: solicitors, Mr Spinks, Great James street, Bedford row, London; Mr Redfearn, Oldham, Lancashire; and Mr Middleton, Leeds.

BUTTERWORTH, JAMES, Manchester, plumber, Dec. 22, Jan. 15: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London; and Messrs R. and J. Kershaw, Manchester.

ELLARY, WILLIAM, Kidderminster, ironfounder, Dec. 23, Jan. 23: solicitors, Messrs Boycott and Lucy, Kidderminster; and Mr W. H. Reece, Birmingham.

FAY, WILLIAM, Bath, innkeeper, Dec. 29, Jan. 23: solicitors, Mr Shattock, Bath; and Mr H. A. De Medina, Argyll square, London.

HARRIS, HENRY, 22, Leman street, Goodman's fields, teacher at the Jews' Orphan Asylum, Dec. 22, Jan. 23: solicitor, Mr J. H. Watson, Winchester buildings, Great Winchester street, City.

LINGARD, FREDERICK, New Elvet, near Durham, teacher of music, Dec. 18, Jan. 22: solicitors, Mr William Brignal, Durham; and Mr Hartley, Southampton street, London.

MOORE, THOMAS (and not Mager), as advertised in last Tuesday's *Gazette*, Holborn hill, City, and of Coventry street, Haymarket, poulterer, Dec. 17, Jan. 14: solicitors, Messrs Kiss and Son, Fenchurch street.

ROTHCHILD, JOSEPH, Bristol, watchmaker, Dec. 29, Jan. 23: solicitors, Mr Hudson, Bloomsbury square, London; and Mr Hopkins, Bristol.

ROWBOTHAM, HENRY, and KENWORTHY, ROBERT JOHNSON, Brinksway, Cheshire, and Manchester, calico printers, Dec. 22, Jan. 15: solicitors, Messrs Gregory and Co., Bedford row, London; and Messrs Hulme and Co., Manchester.

TAYLOR, FREDERICK, 3, Orange street, Red Lion square, wax chandler, Dec. 23, Jan. 20: solicitor, Mr J. Bowen May, Queen's square, Bloomsbury.

WATT, GEORGE, 8, Old Jewry, City, linen factor, Dec. 19, Jan. 23: solicitors, Messrs Lawrence and Plews, Bucklersbury.

WHITEWORTH, FREDERICK, Shawforth, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer, Dec. 23, Jan. 20: solicitors, Messrs Clarke and Co., Lincoln's-inn fields, London; and Mr Henry Whitshead, Rochdale.

DIVIDENDS.

J. C. Crespin, Eastcheap, shipping agent—J. Welch, Holloway and Chalgrave, licensed victualler—J. Harman, Loudon and Edinburgh, common brewer—L. J. Nicolay, Woolwich, draper—J. Patti, Old Broad street, silkman—I. Solly, sen., St Mary axe, merchant—H. R. Osborne, Truro, grocer—H. Warr, Bridport, currier—J. Dees, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Darlington, builder—C. Schofield, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, timber merchant—I. Hughes, Chelmsford, shoemaker—J. Spencer, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted piece manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

RENNIE, JAMES, of Newbridge, contractor, Dec. 20, Jan. 17.

M'PHAIL, A. and A., Glasgow, merchants, Dec. 16, Jan. 6.

Tuesday, December 16th.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Capel Judah, Dolgelly, Monmouthshire.

BANKRUPTCIES.

CORDAROY, FREDERICK, Liverpool, hatter, Dec. 31, Jan. 16: solicitors, Messrs Vincent and Sherwood, Temple; and Mr Minshull, Liverpool.

GILL, WILLIAM, Leadenhall market, poulterer, Dec. 22, Jan. 27: solicitor, Mr Tippins, Pancras lane.

HUMPHRIES, WILLIAM, Haymarket, hotel keeper, Dec. 29, Jan. 27: solicitor, Mr Lewis, Arundel street, Strand.

HULME, JAMES, Manchester, paper dealer, Jan. 2, 16: solicitors, Mr Abbott, Charles street, Bedford square; and Messrs Atkins and Saunders, Manchester.

HOLLOWELL, THOMAS, HIBBETSON, NORTCLIFFE, JAMES, and HOLLOWELL, JOHN BEAUMONT, Halifax, Yorkshire, dyers, Dec. 29, Jan. 21: solicitors, Mr Taylor, Nicholas lane; Mr Clegg, Bradford; and Mr Cariss, Leeds.

JONES, MICHAEL, Theobald's road, grocer, Dec. 21, Jan. 21: solicitor, Mr Miles, Brunswick place, City road.

KEARTON, WILLIAM, Lamb's street, Spitalfields, cheesemonger, Dec. 23, Jan. 27: solicitor, Mr Hutchison, Crown court, Threadneedle street.

POOL, THOMAS, Princes road, Notting hill, builder, Dec. 30, Jan. 30: solicitor, Mr Wright, Cook's court, Lincoln's inn.

REYNOLDS, JAMES, Fazakerley, near Liverpool, cowkeeper, Dec. 29, Jan. 20: solicitors, Messrs Bridger and Blake, London wall; and Mr Dodge, Liverpool.

DIVIDENDS.

J. Palmer, sen., Stapleford, Nottinghamshire, and T. T. Barker, Sandiacre, Derbyshire, cotton doublers—T. Bourne, Liverpool, corn factor—R. Nicholson, Stockton, bookseller—W. Reay Walker, Northumberland, ship builder—T. and W. Johnson, and C. Mann, Romford, Essex, bankers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GRACIE, A., sen., Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, cattle dealer, Dec. 19, Jan. 3.

GRACIE, A. and R., Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, cattle dealers, Dec. 18, Jan. 7.

DONALDSON, A., jun., Edinburgh, tailor, Dec. 23, Jan. 14.

BROWN, J., Auchenarder, grocer, Dec. 25, Jan. 15.

BRITISH FUNDS.

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Monday, Tuesday.

3 percent. Consols 94½ — — — — 92½
Ditto for Account 95 92½ 93 92½ 92½ 92½
3 per cents Reduced 93½ 92½ 92 92 92 92
New 3½ per cent. 95½ 95 91 91 94 94
Long Annuities 103 101 102 102 103 104
Bank Stock..... 201 201 201 200 200 200
India Stock..... — — — — — 26½
Exchequer Bills... 22pm 22pm 22pm 21pm 21pm 20pm
India Bonds..... 31 — — — 32 38

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian 94½ Mexican 29
Brazilian 80 Peruvian 35½
Buenos Ayres 41 Portuguese 5 per cent. 27½
Columbian 16½ Ditto converted 50
Danish 86 Russian 112½
Dutch 2½ per cent. 59 Spanish Active 27½
Ditto 4 per cents 92½ Ditto Passive 7
French 3 per cents 82 Ditto Deferred 16½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham & Gloucester 123 London & Croydon Trunk 19½
Blackwall 9 London and Greenwich 10
Bristol and Exeter 79 Ditto New —
Eastern Counties 19½ Manchester and Leeds 128½
Edinburgh and Glasgow 65 Midland Counties 135
Grand Junction — Ditto New Shares 10
Great North of England 299 Manchester and Birning. 70
Great Western 146 Midland and Derby 112
Ditto Half 80 Ditto New —
Ditto Fifth 32½ South Eastern and Dover 34½
London and Birmingham 210 South Western 73
London & Birm. 4 Shares 24 Ditto New 6½
London and Brighton 58 York and North Midland —

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, Dec. 15.

We have had large supplies of wheat since this day week, which, with the unsettled state of the trade in consequence of the ministerial crisis, have further depressed the market, and we note to-day a decline of 2s. to 3s. per qr. on English wheat. Foreign wheat meets a very limited demand, and sales of any

extent cannot be made within 1s. to 2s. of late prices. Holders of bonded wheat remain firm, and little business doing in consequence. Flour very dull, and ship samples attain 1s. per sack lower. The supplies of barley are very large; none but the finest samples are saleable at last week's prices; all ordinary sorts are 1s. to 2s. per qr. cheaper. White peas 3s. per qr., and 1s. to 2s. per qr. lower. There is a large supply of oats at market, and we have again a very dull trade. Prices 1s. per qr. lower on all descriptions.

Wheat, Red.....	49 to 58	Malt, Ordinary ..	49 to 58
Fine	57 .. 65	Pale	53 .. 60
White	56 .. 63	Rye	33 .. 35
Fine	58 .. 66	Peas, Hog	35 .. 37
Flour, per sack	55 .. 60	Maple	37 .. 39
Barley	28 .. 31	Boilers	49 .. 58
Malting.....	32 .. 38	Beans, Ticks.....	34 .. 38

DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.	
Beans, Pigeon	58s. 2d.
Barley	33 2
Oats	25 0
Fine	23 25
Poland	21 .. 26
Potato	24 .. 33

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR DEC. 12.	
Wheat	58s. 2d.
Barley	33 2
Oats	25 0
Bye	35 4
Beans	41 8
Peas	

classes—the one for the young, and the other for the adult. Of the former, several are both excellent and cheap; of the latter, there is not one that is either cheap or good. They are, in our judgment, both very poor and very dear. They do not possess a single attribute either of efficiency or of popularity. In the nature of things it is utterly impossible that journals so empty, so feeble, so destitute of point, pertinence, individuality, and adaptability to the times which are passing over the earth, can ever take hold on the nation's heart, or exert an influence on the church of Christ. Creations so void of soul, and so attenuated in body, can never secure the attention, nor command the homage, of any portion of society. They can never assert beneficial sway; nothing will ever be accorded them even by the humblest ranks of society beyond permission to enjoy an obscure and contemptible existence as they creep along in their hidden path. One might travel a summer's day in the most densely peopled districts of our land without meeting half a dozen men who ever so much as heard even the name of any one of a half-dozen of such Penny Magazines as we now hold in our hand! But who, with the slightest pretension to intelligence, in any of the three kingdoms, has not at least heard of *Chambers's Journal*? Whence this celebrity? There was at the outset nothing marvellous or even remarkable about the Journal considered absolutely; it was merely a common-sense first step—although a most meritorious one—towards meeting the necessities of the community, in the creation of a popular Periodical Literature. The matter of the Journal was simply respectable, and only such as might have been got up in any part of Great Britain, and the price was just moderate, not by any means remarkably cheap. Its success was mainly founded in its priority. Nay, the success itself was, after all, very limited. What was, what is a circulation of *Fifty Thousand* copies of a journal, not religious, among all the millions of the British empire? Viewed absolutely, it is nothing; taken in connexion with the circulation of the Religious Penny Journals, it is prodigious. The Messrs Chambers, at the outset, had the wide world to themselves, and they went about the matter not as Christian philanthropists, but simply as men of business; the churches of Christ have gone about it as neither. As Denominations, indeed, with one or two exceptions, they have hitherto done absolutely nothing. This great matter has been wholly left to individual enterprise; and those individuals who embarked in it, have, notwithstanding their failure, deserved well. Their failure was their misfortune rather than their fault. Of them we would speak only with respect and gratitude; our censure is directed wholly against the apathy and neglect of the several Denominations of the church of Christ.

But feebleness, emptiness, and want of adaptation are not the only faults of the religious Penny Magazines. Their cost, as compared with the penny productions of the worldly press, is enormous. We have added up the total matter of the said six religious Penny Magazines, and find it little more than equal to the matter of a single penny publication issued in London—a publication of which 60,000 copies are sold every week—*in sale*, we presume, which is, at least, six times the total of that of the aforesaid six religious magazines. Nor is this a solitary instance. Before us lie nearly all the penny publications of the worldly press, and among them we observe another nearly as large as that just mentioned, and which comprises matter enough to fill a fashionable four or five shilling volume. On severing and comparing these two classes of journals, the secular and the religious, before us, we are constrained to blush for the church of the living God!

But there is something even more important than *price*. When we look at the matter of a large portion of these surprisingly cheap publications, our shame is turned into grief and indignation! While all Denominations have been plodding on, in the beaten path, with their sixpenny monthlies, the Satanic Press has been pouring forth its weekly floods of moral poison and spiritual death through penny vehicles nearly as large as the sixpenny monthlies of those Denominations, and in some cases actually larger! Churches of the living God! Is this the measure of your zeal for the glory of Messiah? Is this the extent of your compassion for perishing millions? How long is this state of things to continue? When will you awake from your sleep, and take the field of letters against your common foe? When will you meet him on his own terms, fight and overthrow him with his own weapons?

The Denominations generally have been satisfied with their sixpenny organs, and even these they have fainted rather than fed. The support rendered to them has, upon the whole, been most discreditable, most contemptible. Few appear even to have spent a thought upon the subject, and of those who did, the chief concern of most seems to have been, how to get most money out of the said organs for some painful eleemosynary object, which justice and honour unitedly required to have been provided for by direct and equitable means. How to augment the intellectual and moral force of their journals has, with Christian communities, very seldom been a subject of inquiry. This state of things, however, is now fast passing away: the appearance of the *Christian Witness*, and the general favour accorded to it by all Denominations, have set the whole sixpenny sisterhood in motion. At the close of last year, like sixpenny sisterhoods preparing for a siege, they betook themselves to the work of "enlarging" and "improving" on all sides, and a portion of them have reduced their price. As if still insecure, however, we behold in divers quarters the announcement of similar arrangements for the coming year. In all this we intensely rejoice; but this is not enough. Let them by all means improve their sixpenny monthlies, but let them, at the same time, do full homage to the Penny principle. To this they must come, and the sooner the better. We do fervently hope the example of our Union will not be lost upon other bodies. One of our ablest contemporaries, the *Baptist Record*, in a friendly and generous account of the recent meeting of our Union at Manchester, after a kind reference to ourselves, says, "We may expect a work that will effectively seize the attention and awaken the interest of a class not yet provided for by the current literature of any denomination. We unfeignedly rejoice in the decision, and have the fullest confidence that other sections of the Christian church will be urged by so good an example to a similar attack on the religious indifference and ignorance of the great body of the people." This will be the consummation of our best desires for our country. There is one body of philanthropists in the midst of us whom, on this occasion, it were unjust not to mention with praise and cordial approbation, viz., the Temperance Societies. These wise and benevolent confederacies for the nation's good have now acquired a strength which enables them to circulate upwards of a dozen monthly magazines for the express purpose of advocating and diffusing their principles, all of which are sold at the price of One Penny. In addition to which they have one at three halfpence, one at twopence, one or two at three pence, and, we believe, only one at sixpence. If the real wants of the humbler classes be known to any portion of intelligent men among us, that portion, beyond controversy, comprises the leaders of the Temperance movement; and their all but uniform example demonstrates that either the taste of the masses, or their necessities, or both, demand the institution of the Penny Periodical. Let the churches of Christ think on these things!

Christians! Philanthropists! These our views are before you. Do they, in the main, meet your approval? If so, will you, in all practicable ways, assist us? As heads of families, teachers of schools, pastors, deacons, and churches, may we rely on your hearty co-operation? How can your best endeavours be more worthily, more hopefully exerted? We cannot doubt of you; we do not; we have the fullest confidence in you! And, above all, we rely with a security which ample experience has inspired, on the generous and zealous support of you!—the Sabbath-school Teachers of England! The FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE will be eminently adapted to your scholars, and we hope for its introduction, to some extent, into every Sabbath-school in England. If you will, in this business, act a part worthy of yourselves, we may forthwith obtain, together with other classes of readers, a monthly circulation of at least Two or Three Hundred Thousand Copies! Start not; even were all other subscribers excluded, is this too much to expect from a body of Two Hundred Thousand Teachers and Two Millions of Scholars—and these the teachers and the scholars of the Nation of Bibles and of Missions—for the CHRISTIAN'S PENNY MAGAZINE, and FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE!

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Impiety fostered by State Churches.

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